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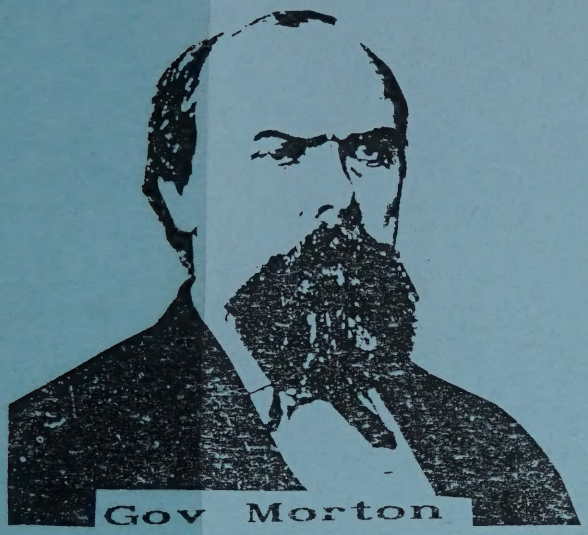

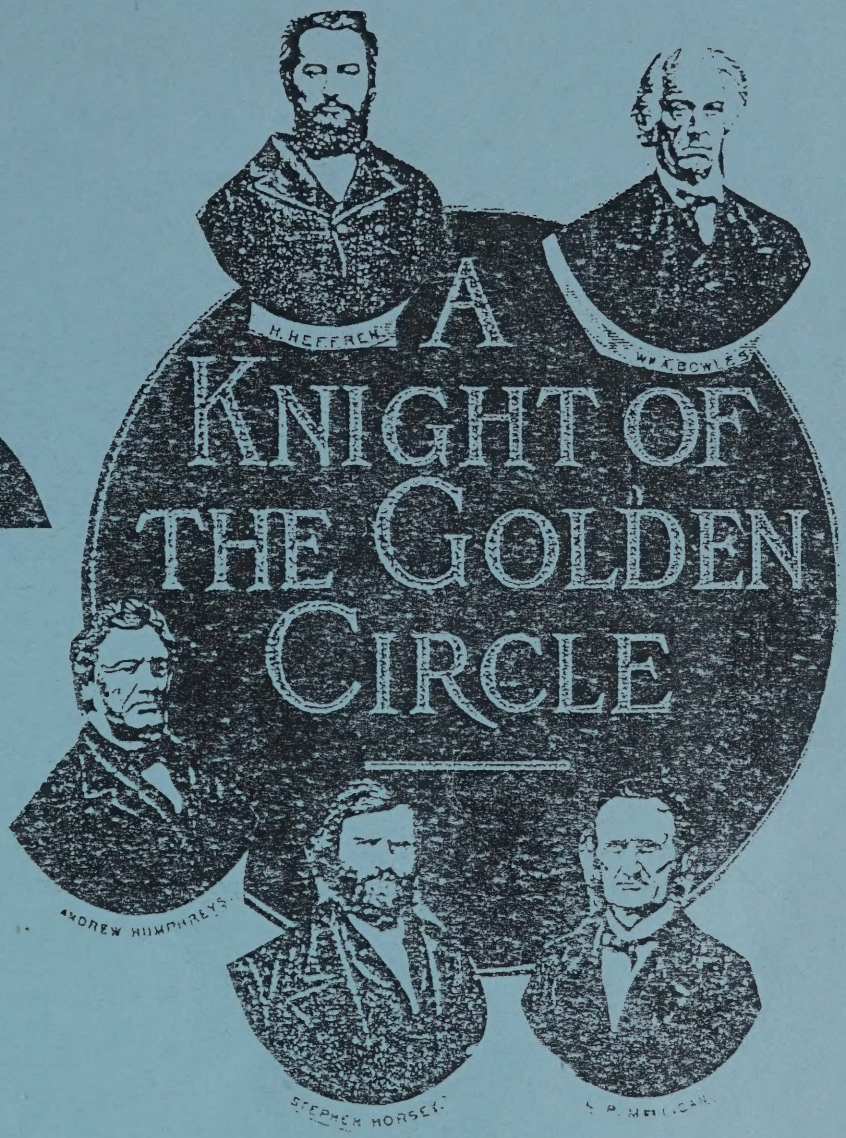

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ANTI GOVERNMENT MOVEMENT IN MIDDLE WEST

by

Ronald Sharp, Kosciusko County Historian

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Written Sharps Chronicles consisting of five books on the history of Syracuse, Three volumes of county men in civil war and two volumes of county history. [ ] symbol has been used in personal comments.

OPPOSITION TO THE UNION

PREFACE

I became interested in the oppositions to the Civil War by some of the Northern people when I wrote three volumes of Civil War history. The three volumes were about "Kosciusko County Men in the Civil War".

The research for this book started in 1992. As I progressed in my research it became more and more evident to me that historians had down-played those men and organizations (both North and South) that actively opposed the Union in the Civil war.

There seemed to be two distinct groups of historians: one favoring the Union and the other favoring those opposed to the Union in the Civil war.

I believe both groups of historians were correct up to a point. Then the historical accounts become a little distorted.

I started with the opinion that there was much more to the organized opposition to the Union's efforts in the war than was acknowledged by historians who wrote of that period in United States History. .

My efforts will be to prove the point that the organizations opposing the Union did have a definite effect, and could have contributed to the war lasting as long as it did. (April, 1865).

KEY TO REFERENCES:

Dates are enclosed in parentheses to facilitate sequence of events.

KEY: (A) Indiana in the War of Rebellion. (B) Indiana Politics During the War. (C) Civil War Dictionary. (D) Goshen Times (E) Indiana in the Civil War- Thornbrough. (F) History of Indiana-Esarey Vol II (G) Official Record Vol Part II Vol 6-7-8. (H)Indiana History Magazine

OPPOSITION TO THE UNION
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Since the signing of the Declaration of Independence and ratification of the Constitution, the Northern and Southern states had struggled to get power one over the other.

The Southern states wished to preserve their life style, which some case rivaled the crown heads of Europe's.

The Northern states wished to have a tariff so that the influx of new arrivals could be put to work in factories. Then there were some who had a humanitarian goal, to "do away with slavery".

As long as the Southern states had the votes they could control not only their own destiny but could use this power to keep the Northern states at bay..

Most of the Southern state's leaders believed that they had the right to withdraw from the Union. After all, they had voted to join so why could they not vote to withdraw?

With the expansion of the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, Southern leaders saw the possibility that those in the Northern states would soon have the votes to pass tariffs that would not only benefit the North but would harm the South.

Also if those in the North succeeded in freeing the slaves the Southern economy of raising cotton and tobacco would suffer.

The Southern gentry classified the Northern people as an undisciplined mob.

In addition to the low opinion of the Northern people some of their Southern leaders miscalculated the Northern resolve to keep them in the Union.

In 1861 when Abraham Lincoln was elected, he received only about 40 percent of the votes cast.(1)

However, the Southern states did not wait for him to become president to start seceding . South Carolina voted for an ordinance of secession on Dec. 20;. others followed (2)

In March, 1861, Lincoln took the oath of office and his tone was very conciliatory (3)

Indiana, dating back to the Northwest territory, had a problem with slavery. (4). So in addition to seceding of the Southern states was the added problem of slavery.

*

Indiana was not solid for the Union nor was the Emancipation Proclamation popular by many citizens in the state

All this contributed to foment problems for Indiana state government

The election of 1862 was a disaster for those supporting the Union. Many on the Democrat side made efforts that could be classified as treason against the Federal government.

Leading those opposed to the Union were The Knights of the Golden Circle, and Sons of Liberty. Both groups found recruits in those who did not wish to serve in the armed services..

Numerous resolutions were introduced in the Indiana General Assembly in 1863.

Some of these actions could have contributed to the war lasting until 1865. There were many in Indiana who did not favor the Lincoln Administration policies.

These protests took several forms: some actual revolting against authority, encouragement for soldiers to desert and resist the draft, an attempt to take the military power away from the governor by legislative action.

The refusal to pass an appropriations bill by the State Assembly also put pressure on the Governor.

FOOTNOTES

(1)(May 16-18, 1860) Abraham Lincoln on the 3rd ballot was nominated by a vote of 235 out of 464. In (November) he won the presidency with 1,866,352 votes as compared to his three opponents 2,810,501. Lincoln did receive 180 electoral votes to 123 for his three opponents.

(2) In addition to South Carolina the following states voted to secede. During the month of (January: 9th) Mississippi, 84 - 15; (10th) Florida, 62-7; (11th) Alabama, 61-39; (19th) Georgia, 208-89; (26th) Louisiana, 113-17. (February): Texas, 166-7. A vote of the electorate was taken, 34,740votes to secede 11,235 to stay in the Union. (April 17th) Virginia, 103-46. A vote was taken 128,884 to secede, 32,134 to remain in the union.(23rd) Maryland, 53-13 to remain in the Union.(May 6th) Arkansas, 69 -1 to with draw. (21st) North Carolina voted to secede but refused by a two thirds vote to submit it to the people for ratification.

(June 8th) Tennessee voted 104,019-47,238 for secession . October After various governments were seated Missouri voted to secede on the (31st). On (June 30) the northwest part of Virginia broke away from the state and was named West Virginia. Reference (1-2) were taken from The Civil War by Harry Hansen.pages 31-32-33-34.

(3) (March 4, 1861) (quote in part) Fellow citizens of the United States: In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly , and to take, in you presence, the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, to be taken by the President "before he enters on the execution of his office". END OF Abraham Lincolns QUOTE

Apprehension seemed to exist among the people of the Southern States, that by the accession of a Republican Administration, their property, their peace, and personal security, were to be endangered. There had never been any reasonable cause

for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary had all the while existed, and been open to their inspection.

It is found in nearly all the published speeches of Lincoln who now addresses you. Lincoln continued: I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the constitution of slavery in the States where it now exists.

I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. "Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this, and made similar declarations, and had never recanted them.

I Resolved, that the maintenance inviolate of the right of the States, and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institution according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends.

Lincoln had this to say about those states that had seceded: I therefor consider that, in view of the Constitution and the law, the Union is unbroken; and to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution in itself expressly enjoins me that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States The above is taken from The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln Vol IV Roy Basler editor.

(4) A special article (13) was passed on by the voters in (1850). This was added to the Indiana State Constitution by a vote of 109,976 for and 21,066 against.

Article 13 read: Section 1-- No negro or mulatto shall come into, or settle in the State, after the adoption of this constitution. P262-267

Section 2-- All contracts made with any negro or mulatto coming into the state contrary to the provisions of that foregoing section, shall be void; and any persons who shall employ such negro or mulatto, or otherwise encourage him to remain in the State shall be fined in any sum not less that $10, nor more that $500.

Section 3-- All fines which may be collected for a violation of the article or law shall be used to repatriate those negro or mulatto in the state. .

Section 4-- The General assembly shall pass laws to carry out these provisions. This was repealed in (1881). In (1810) there were 237 slaves in the state. Ref History of Indiana William Henry Smith Pages 218-219 , 186-187

COVER

Upper left is Gov. Oliver Morton governor of Indiana during the Civil War.Bottom let sketch carried in newspapers of that ear Showing Union fighting the Copperheads. (among those who opposed the Union .

To right is Knights of the Golden Circle and other organizations to anti government.

Clockwise, William Bowles, L. P. Milligan, Stephen Horse Andrew Humphreys and H Helfrin.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF SECRET SOCIETIES

Knights of the Golden Circle

The organization that gained the most notoriety during the 1962-64 period was the Knights of the Golden Circle. This was described as a secret order of Southern sympathizers in the North. Originally started in the South, its purpose was the retention of slavery in the 1850's As the movement spread into other parts of the country it became the organization of the peace Democrats, who disapproved of the war. (The Civil War Dictionary, Mark Boatner III p 466.

[I have used a book written by Frank Klement "The Copperheads In the Middle West as the source of those who believed that the Secret societies were more fiction than fact during the Civil War. Klement's book is quoted below:]

In its earliest day it revolved around the name of George Washington Lamb Bickley .

Described as having a glib tongue and facile pen, he worked in Cincinnati as a lawyer, lecturer, writer, doctor and teacher, an all- around con man.

Bickley married a widow, mismanaged her estate and tried to organize the Continental Union, a secret society intending to be the successor of the dying Know-Nothing movement.

When this origination which excluded Catholics, and all disunionists failed, he revised the ritual, devised a great seal and christened his new organization, "Knights of the Golden Circle".

He made himself a General and set dues at $10 per membership. He envisioned the Golden Circle as a means to colonize and finally annex northern Mexico to the United States.

Bickley left Cincinnati with creditors on his tail. He moved his headquarters to Washington, and pretended he had a large membership.

He toured the South, and quickly tailored his organization to appeal to the Southerners. He suggested that the Southerners gain revenge against the abolitionists by joining his order and colonizing Mexico. He proposed this take place in (September 1860).

It failed; the entire scheme collapsed. Bickley wandered around middle Tennessee and married a Tennessee woman (although he was already married).

Rumors reached Washington city, concerning a secessionist secret society in Kentucky and Tennessee. This was given some credence by the editor of a Louisville newspaper who charged that a secret society dedicated to promoting secession existed in Kentucky.

The Kentucky legislature launched an inquiry as to the activity of the subversive organization, the Knights of the Golden Circle. As to the organization it was pure fiction. . But Bickley saw his chance and claimed there were members state-wide in the organization.

When the rumor mill was in full swing the con man sat back and enjoyed the notoriety.

The first KGC report of substantial achievements came just prior to the (October 1861) election. Republicans running for office flooded the newspapers with the organization. This started the rumor ball rolling, regarding the KGC being a force in Indiana, Ohio & Illinois.

Carrington Report

When Henry B. Carrington, a Republican politician, was appointed to superintend the recruiting and training of Indiana troops, he became Governor Morton's man Friday.

Whenever Governor Morton publicly condemned Knights of the Golden Circle or denounced Democrats for their pro Southern activities, Carrington echoed the Governor's words and beat the bushes for non-existent evidence.

Carrington wore a Colonel's insignia. Morton endeavored to keep him in Indianapolis. When federal authorities tried to assign him to field service, Morton pleaded with success to the War Department, and kept the Colonel in Indianapolis.

Carrington started the KGC snowball rolling in Indiana (late in 1862). After the fall elections, Governor Morton charged publicly that a secret political military order existed in Indiana. He said that the society's purpose was to establish a Northwest Confederacy.

Carrington came to Morton's aid with a report to Secretary of War Stanton. In his report he stated that a dangerous secret society had mushroomed in Indiana. The Colonel listed five objectives of the traitorous organization: (1) to incite desertion (2) to resist arrest of deserters. (3) to stop enlistments (4)to disorganize the army (5) to prevent further drafting.

Morton made numerous charges against the Knights in various speeches.

A publishing company distributed a pamphlet that further built the KGC legend in Indiana. Various desertions and robberies were to have contributed to KGC activities in the state.

Two events of (July, 1863) played into the hands of Morton and Carrington. One was Morgan's raid into Indiana and Ohio, (July 8-13), Morton pretended that Morgan's raiders had been invited to invade Indiana by the KGC members and domestic traitors and the invasion was a signal for KGC- led uprising. These rumors even persisted after Morgan was captured.

The second event was the arrest of George W. Bickley in New Albany. At that time Bickley was residing in South

Central Tennessee, controlled by the Union forces. He asked for a pass to go north under his own name. He denied any association with the Knights of the Golden Circle.

He was released but, keeping with his character violated the restrictions placed on him by the Union officers.

He veered from his stated route and was arrested in New Albany, Indiana. He again denied any knowledge of the Knights of the Golden Circle. Agents seized his baggage, searched his trunk, and found ample evidence that Bickley was the creator and head of the Knights of the Golden Circle.

He was taken to Louisville and accused of being a Confederate spy. He was placed in a military prison under heavy guard.

Bickley was kept buried alive during the remaining years of the war. His arrest in Indiana in (July 1863), however, had served Gov. Morton and Carrington well.

Federal authorities did not put him on trial because this would have exposed the KGC myth that had been so widely circulated and the reputation of the tellers of tall tales would have been tarnished. Democrats discussed the desirability of organizing a secret association as an underfeeding of their political party. .

The Union Leagues, the secret and militant arm of the Republican party, functioned effectively and some Democrats advocated fighting fire with fire. During 1862 a battle raged inside the Democrat Party on this issue. Joseph Bingham, executive secretary of the Democrat party in Indiana and outspoken editor of the Indianapolis State Sentinel, opposed all secret political societies. In a Jackson county convention he proposed a Resolution, "We are opposed to Know-Nothingism, The Knight of Golden Circle, the Wide Awakes and all other secret societies as anti- democratic"..

However Harrison Dodd did not believe in this policy. In (January, 1863) he criticized Gov. Morton and talked of organizing a devoted order which would neutralize Gov. Morton's dictorial aspirations.

After the elections of (1862) in Indianapolis' Dodd was convinced that the Democrats must create a partisan society patterned after the Union League. The polls witnessed many unsavory incidents and acts of violence against the Democrats..

Dodd's acts were further sparked with the arrest and trial of Vallandigham by a military court.

SONS OF LIBERTY

To try and remove past propaganda against the KGC, Dodd issued a decree: his planed secret society the Sons of Liberty was related in no way or fashion to the Knights of the Golden Circle.

Dodd drafted his plans for his secret society,. which. provided that the order would be headed by a Supreme Grand Commander. He also provided for other states to join the movement.

Dodd took the title of Grand Commander of Indiana and divided th state into four military districts. Three of the commanders selected for the military districts never accepted their appointments and never served as members.(page 166.)

Dodd prevailed upon Corning Judd to accept the leadership of the Illinois Sons of Liberty. However they found few recruits. The organization existed more on paper than in practice. Dodd embarked on a propaganda campaign to convince Republicans the organization had some strength. However, prominent Democrats shunned this society giving no encouragement to the organization.

AMERICAN KNIGHTS.

In Missouri, Phineas Wright while in New Orleans (1856-57), had drawn up plans for a fraternal order which he named the Order of American Knights. (1). The organization promoted states rights and a Central American colonial scheme.

In (1859) he moved to St Louis and mixed politics with law. In (1863) smuggling developed into a major industry .Cotton agents built up ill will as they lined their pockets with gold. Guerrillas raided for private gain.

In December 1863 he revived the Order of American Knights,. published a pamphlet and issued a call to arms. Objectives were: (a) educate members to be straight line Democrats. (b) contact other secret societies. (c) promote friendship and fellowship. (d) provide a refuge in Central America for those being made homeless by the war. Wright tried to enlist other states but he met with ridicule and abuse in Illinois and Indiana. He also did not have much of a following in Missouri.

This ends quotes from The Copperhead Movement In the Middle West (Pages 134 to 169, G 234-235)

OTHER OPINIONS

[The Indiana Historical Society Magazine also indicates that the Knights and other societies had little effect on Indiana's efforts in the Civil War. I have quotes from IHS Vol 14 Disunion at Home (pages 189, 214-217.)]

The article reveals the following: Democrat connection with the KGC.

Some Democrats did join the organization known as the Knights of the Golden Circle, although the number of members fluctuated greatly and the figures cited by Republicans were grossly exaggerated.

According to tradition, the first chapter of the Oorder was introduced into Indiana by Dr William Bowles of Paoli, who was regarded as an advocate of slavery.

[Noted Indiana Historian Logan Esarey wrote the following in his Vol I of Indiana History]:

Nothing good can be said of the Knights of the Golden Circle. As an economic organization it was brute force against right. Its politics was a system based on revolution, decentralization and final anarchy. It inculcates no system of morality. Its pompous ritual contained a great many high sounding phrases intended to mislead .

Although it was scattered over the state it was not inherently dangerous. It is doubtful if Gov. Morton was ever seriously alarmed at their plots. (pages 791-92-93)

********** FOOTNOTE **********

[From Adjutant General Report Vol I Pages 361-

Its inight of the Golden Circle) Organization and officers. The information below was gathered by the Union officials from spies, informers and other sources.

1 Government of the Order throughout the United States is vested in a supreme council, of which the officers are a supreme commander, secretary of state and treasurer.

These officers are elected for one year, at the annual meeting of the supreme council which is made up of the grand commanders of the several states and two delegates elected from each state in which the order is established.

2 The government of the Order in a state is vested in a grand council.

3 Parent Temples is the organization for the county].

Its Extent

[The Temples or Lodges are numerous and scattered through the state of Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Missouri and Kentucky: lesser extent in Michigan, New York, Pennsylvania, new Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware and Tenn.

Number of members: Vallandigham in a speech at Dayton, Ohio, placed membership at 500,000.

Other sources placed membership as follows: Indiana 75 to 125 thousand. Report of Secretary: By county: Grant 210; Clay 194; Blackford 50; DeKalb 34; Harrison 615; Marshall 30; Washington 1,100; Allen 40; Brown 322; Wells 51; Vigo 500; Fountain 373; Sullivan 600;

Others: Illinois 100 to 140 thousand; Ohio 80 to 108 thousand; Kentucky 40 to 70 thousand; Missouri 20 to 40 thousand; Michigan and New York 20 thousand each.]

MILITARY

[In the states of Ohio and Illinois the Order is claimed by its members to be unusually well armed with revolvers, carbines. In Indiana the state group had 6,000 muskets, 60,000 revolvers. There was also a testimony, $4,000 was raised in one meeting to purchase arms.

The reports continue to cover other items. It was prepared by J Holt Judge Advocate General].

CHAPTER III

OPPOSITION TO WAR

Opposition to the war and the policies of the Lincoln administration took many forms.

There was opposition to fighting a war to keep the Southern states in the Union: later there was opposition to drafting individuals to fight in the war, then opposition to freeing the negro. There also were those who saw profit in a war between the states.

All of these reasons resulted in various groups participating in incidents that could be called traitorous.

In this chapter I am dividing the opposition into two categories: civil (where the public was involved) and the draft.

CIVIL

The civil action could, and probably did, in some cases, involve the various secret societies: Knights of the Golden Circle, Sons of Liberty, The American Knights.

However, this chapter is not going to point blame or credit; this will come in a later chapter.

Civil action took several forms: Resolutions passed by various organizations against the war, Emancipation proclamations and draft,and rallies against the war policies..

Probably the worst events occurred in actions to stop the draft.(1) Rush, Sullivan and Daviess county men lost their lives while trying to enroll men for the draft. Other numerous events occurred in connection with the draft.

Below are the dates and types of events that occurred as the result of the 1862 draft (1)

(Oct. 1862), Blackford county commissioners' box was seized, dashed upon the floor and trampled to pieces (a-p354)

(April 18, 1863), Riot in Brown county; a soldier was killed. Lewis Prosser, a leader of the "Sons of Liberty" in a political meeting, killed a soldier and was mortally wounded by Capt Cunning. (a-p351)

June 10th, Rush County, Frank Stevens killed while acting as assistant enrolling officer near Manilla. The enrollment officer, Craycraft, was with him and was severely wounded. Stevens was a Senator from Decator county. A short time before, a disloyal paper published in Rushville

had warned all draft officers to insure their lives. (a-p360)

(June 11th), Enrolling officer was shot while doing his duty in Waterloo township, Fayette county
(a-p360)

(June 12th), was a day for those who wished to cause trouble for enrolling officers,
. Below are the problems that occurred on that day:

Johnson county, armed men resisted enrollment efforts (a-p360)

Putnam county, Marion township, 50 men attacked the residence of James Sill, enrolling officer. The attackers demanded the enrollment papers. He refused until they fired into the house. He then surrendered the papers. (a-p360)

Jefferson township papers were destroyed. (a-p360)

The Cloverdale township records were stolen during the week. (a-p359)

(June 15th), Boone county enrolling officer, of Whitestown was resisted by a company of rioters and threatened with violence if he continued (a-p359)

(June 18), Fletcher Freeman, enrolling officer, was shot and killed while engaged in performing his duties in Cass township in Sullivan county. This murder was well understood in the vicinity to have been committed by the Sons of Liberty. (a-p360).

(June 20), resistance was made to the enrollment of Indian Creek Township, Monroe county, and the papers were destroyed.

Also, draft officers of Daviess county were warned not to enroll.. (a-p360)

Oct 3, 1864, Capt. Eli McCarty of Daviess county was murdered while serving notices on drafted men. It was reported that the Sons of Liberty murdered him and threw his body in the river. It was recovered several days later (a-p360)

In the early part of the summer of (1863) outrages had become so frequent and the disorder of the communities in which they were committed so great and so rapidly expanding that the authorities were forced to take steps to check them. On the (11th day of June), Gov. Morton issued a proclamation warning persons against resistance to the government in any form or hindering or obstructing any officer in the performance of his duties (a-360)

A total of 17,899 were drafted by Union officials in 1862-1864. This compares with 190,438 who volunteered (a-p312).

Meetings-Resolutions

The Democrats had won the (Oct. 1862) general election and now had control of the state legislature. Gov. Morton, if he was worried before, was panic stricken now. Early stories that Democrats were involved with secret societies had not washed. Losses in the field by Union forces had cast doubt in the voters minds about the war.

The tenor of meetings was for the northern states to stop fighting and hold a convention. Some of the rhetoric blamed the north and those against slavery for the war. Below are some of the meetings held and some of the actions that were taken during the meeting..

(Nov 21, 1862), the Democrats held a jubilee at Cambridge City. Chief speaker was Clement L. Vallandigham of Ohio who was an extreme peace advocate. Other speakers were George Pendleton, a moderate Democrat leader, and Hendricks .

According to reports, the crowd cheered for Jefferson Davis and whispered about their plans to aid the Confederacy. Also that Individual Democrats made a brazen display of their Butternut pins . b-p158-159)

(In December), Huntington County, a speaker said the war was due to the actions of New England and not the South .

No less than 2,300 deserters were reported during a single month; nearly 10,000 deserted in this state during the war. (a359) (a Ind 18)

(1863 YEAR)

Brown county: At a meeting (January 1), it was resolved that "Our interests and inclinations will demand of us a withdrawal from the political association in a common government with the New England States. We demand an immediate armistice (a-p338)

Carroll: A resolution against the war and the President's Emancipation Proclamation. (a-p339)

Address at the Democrat State Central Committee spoke vaguely of the duty of pacification or honorable adjustment (b-p162)

H. H. Dodd, a member of the faction of extreme peace men, told Republicans that they would learn the purpose of these associations if they placed arms in the hands of their sons and sent them to the polls in company with hired ruffians to intimidate. (Jan 1863). (b-p166)

(Jan 23), Martin county: resolve "That we regard the lives of white men as of more value than the freedom of the negro, and we have given the last man and the last money we are willing to give for the prosecution of the present abolition war".(a-p340)

(Jan 24), Lawrence: resolution against the prosecution of the war and against emancipation.(a-p341)

(Jan 25), Starke: a meeting declared for a cessation of hostilities; for a National Convention and for the appointment by the Legislature of commissioners to communicate with other states. (a-p341)

(Jan 26), Scott: a meeting declared opposition to the prosecution of the war, and in favor of the measure to take away all military power from the governor. (a-p341)

(Jan 29), Petition for peace formulated for representatives to congress to propose an armistice with those in rebellion. (c-1-29-63)

(Jan 31), Rush: a convention resolved "that we are opposed to the further prosecution of this abolition war. We declare that we are for peace, the cessation of hostilities, and armistice and the settlement of existing difficulties by compromise or negotiation. (a-p341)

(Jan 31), DeKalb: meeting declared that we will not give one cent or send one single soldier to the present war. We favor an armistice (a-p341)

(Feb 3), In Noble county information was given to the Governor that the Knights of the Golden Circle, more generally known later as the Sons of Liberty, were fully organized and armed (a-p353)

(Feb 7), Shelby: denounced the administration and emancipation; demanded a cessation of' hostilities and opposed the conscription laws. (a-p341)

(Feb 7), Bartholomew: at a meeting declared we invite conservative men, every where, to co-operate with us in an earnest endeavor to bring about a speedy termination of the war. (a-p238)

(Feb 19), Jackson: a meeting declared that it is our deliberate conviction that the union of those states can never be restored. Favored a National Convention (a-p340)

(Feb 21), Putman: meeting resolved that there should be a cessation of hostilities, that not another soldier and not another dollar ought to be furnished for the further prosecution of this war for negro emancipation (a-p341)

(Feb 23), Clay: at a meeting resolved that we recommend a cessation of hostilities for such a period as may be necessary to allow the people of the North and South to hold a National Convention, to express their wish for a maintenance of the Union. (a-p339)

(Feb 27), Green: A meeting resolved that "We hereby declare our opposition to the further prosecution of the war as it is now being waged, and that we are not in favor of furnishing the present Administration another man, gun or dollar for such a hellish and unchristian crusade: (a-p339)

(Feb 28), LaGrange: a meeting all true lovers of the constitution should unite to inaugurate such action as would bring peace (a-p340)

(March 18), Marion: meeting declared in favor of a cessation of hostilities (a-p340)

(June), Marshall: A convention resolved that "We are opposed to the war under any and all circumstance".(a-340)

June 1, Jay: Noble township deserters were forcibly rescued from their guards (a-p359)

CHAPTER IV

GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITIES

Various opinions have been expressed on the effects that the State Legislature (1863) had on the Civil War.

Writing in her book, "Indiana in the Civil War Era 1850-1880,". Emma Lou Thornbrough states the opinion of Historical writers about the effects of dissension on the war.

"A pamphlet issued by the Indiana Republican State Central Committee in 1876 declared that Governor Oliver Morton was compelled to fight two rebellions--one in the South and one in Indiana.

"The history of the Greek and Roman Republics, in their worst stages of corruption, scarcely furnished a parallel to the gigantic insurrection plots brought to light in the exposition of the "Sons of Liberty," declared a laudatory contemporary biography of Morton.

Recent scholars, on the other hand, tend to minimize the extent of disloyalty.

One scholar, who has painstakingly examined the evidence on which the tradition rests, finds it a "Republican Construction myth", "a political apparition which appeared on the eve of elections". He scoffs at the notion that there was disloyalty on a scale sufficient to constitute a serious threat. (e-1p180)

Thornbrough further comments on the State Legislature of 1863 which introduced a number of resolutions that, beyond a doubt, gave aid and comfort to the enemy.

Quote: " The Democrat victories in the elections of 1862 were followed by an imbroglio in the next legislature which led to a breakdown in constitutional government."

She continues "on the other hand a recent study insists that Morton had no scruples when it came to turning events to the advantage of his party and his narrow partisanship helped to precipitate a constitutional crisis." (e-p183)

Democrats consumed much of this session abusing Lincoln and Morton and the conduct of the War, bewailing emancipation and the loss of constitutional liberty.

Republicans charged the Democratic party as being disloyal and professed to see evidences of a conspiracy to aid the Confederacy in every Democratic move.

There were a few peace Democrats who introduced numerous resolutions.

All of these resolutions were referred to the appropriate committees but none of them every reached the floor of either house for debate. (e-p185)

Democrats professed to be alarmed over Morton's dictatorial tendencies and introduced various measures which were designed to curtail the Governor's powers and give Democratic state officers a larger voice.

The session came to an end in an impasse over a Democratic military bill which would have divided control of the military between the Governor and the Democrat state officers.

In order to prevent action on the bill, all but four of the Republican members bolted. With the Governor's approval they went to Madison where they could easily cross over into Kentucky if the majority tried to force them to return. When they refused to return the legislature went home..

The Republican bolt seems to have been premature. Democrats insisted that it was highly unlikely that the bill would have been acted upon since there were about 100 bills on the calendar.

Moreover, they pointed out, if it had passed, the Governor could have vetoed it; then the Republicans could have bolted if that was the only way to prevent its adoption over his veto. (e-p186-187).

Legislative Action

The two parties (Democrat & Republican) did not waste time going after each other when the Indiana General Assembly convened Jan 9, 1863.

The Governor's message to both Senate and House was to be delivered to the group. The Democrat house refused to hear Morton because the Senate had not yet organized. This led to other petit action by both parties.

(Jan 9) Morton sent his message to the General Assembly. The House of Representatives determined by a vote of 61-32 that the message should not be received. (a-303)

The Senate refused to accept a resolution declaring that the suppression of the rebellion and the restoration and preservation of the Union of all the State is the great and paramount object of loyal citizens and that the members will vote for no man for office who is not in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war.
The vote against 27 to 22. (a-305)

In the House on the same day a similar declaration was put forward but was refused and referred to a committee by a vote of 58-38. (a-305)

(Jan 10) A preamble and resolution were introduced declaring that many citizens of this state had been arrested by the authority of the General government and confined in military prisons and camps without public charges.

That the General Assembly denounced all such arrests. This was adopted by a vote of 58 to 40. (a-305)

A proposal to appoint a committee of seven to examine into the alleged arrests and to report a bill adequate to protect the people from them. This was adopted by a vote of 60-26. (a-306)

(Jan 14) A long preamble and series of resolutions were offered in the House. A part of this stated Indiana will not voluntarily contribute another man or another dollar, to be used for such wicked, inhuman and unholy purpose (a-309-310.)

(Jan 15) A resolution was offered declaring that the creation of the State of West Virginia was a breach of the constitution of Virginia: an effort to lay this on the table was defeated 61-30 (a-310).

A resolution was offered instructing our Senators and request our Representatives in Congress to take measures to suspend hostilities and call a National Convention.

(Jan 16) A resolution was offered in the house setting forth the declaration of Jefferson Davis that the West was preparing to secede from

the east and that a Grand Jury had discovered the existence of a secret political organization.

The proposal was made to name a committee to investigate these reports. This went down to defeat 57 to 35. (a-307-308)

(Jan 17) Received a petition of Sullivan County citizens urging that not one man nor one dollar be voted to prosecute this infernal abolition war.(a-308)

(Jan 20) A resolution to investigate these secret societies was offered; it was killed 53 - 36. (a-308)

(Jan 27)

A series of preambles and resolutions were introduced in the Senate declaring that the present civil war was forced upon the country by the wicked and fanatical factions of the North and South. (a-313-314)

It was resolved that our Congressmen be urged and instructed first, to procure an armistice of at least six months for the purpose of testing the possibility of a permanent peace on the basis of the Union; second, to pass a law calling a convention of all the states to consider the state of the country and to devise some plan of settlement by which the Union could be restored.

(Jan 29) Some members of the Senate maintained " that it was the duty of the chief executive of the nation to proclaim and we therefore for an in the name of the people of Indiana demand the establishment of an armistice as soon as possible". . (a-p315)

Provided that if the United States Congress failed to provided for such a convention, we hereby, in the name of the people of Indiana, invite each and every state in the Federal Union including the so-called Confederate states to meet in a convention at Nashville, Tenn. on the first Monday (being the first day of June 1863. (a-p316)

(Feb. 4) A joint resolution proposing to amend the constitution of the state so as to allow soldiers in the field to vote was turned down by a vote of 42 -33. (a-p318).t

(Feb. 10) A joint resolution was introduced in the House protesting against the passage of any bill by congress excusing any government official from liability for arbitrary arrests. (This resolution was to embarrass the federal authorities).

(Feb 10) A joint resolution was previously introduced in the Senate opposing the arming of negro's against the Rebel forces. An amendment was added to this which placed the condition that

the president shall immediately withdraw his Emancipation Proclamation.

(Feb 12). The news of the efforts to bring about an armistice and a convention reached the war front. The soldiers requests that any halting of the war would give the rebels a chance to strengthen their forces. Several units (6th,15th, 17th, 22nd,29th,32th,34th, 37th,39th, 40th,42nd,44th,51st,57th,58th,72nd,73rd,75th,79th, 82nd,86th,101) regiments petitioned the state assembly not to pass a resolution insisting on an armistice. This request was rejected in the Senate by a vote of 28-18. It was rejected as being disrespectful (a-p321).

(Feb 13) A second attempt was made to amend the resolution against employing negro in the army by declaring 1st, that the negro troops should be employed in departments separate from whites: 2nd, no rank higher than Cap. should be conferred upon persons of African descent. This was voted down 25 - 20.

(Feb 19) In the House of Representative a preamble with resolutions was introduced in a meeting of the 27th Regiment in which it had been declared that two propositions (for an armistice, and National convention) were nothing less than treason.

The resolution in the House denounced those regiments who had written to the General Assembly as being offensive and fomented insubordination tending to produce civil war at home. The House voted 50-29 to censure the regiments.

(Feb 27). A resolution was offered in the House of Representatives declaring that the session was nearly over and that prompt action must be taken to meet the demand for a cessation of hostilities and therefore the committee on Federal Relations was instructed to report by March 4 with a bill or joint resolution for a National Convention. (a-p317)

(Feb 28th) petitions were presented in the Senate from the 19th and 20th protesting against the attempt, then in progress in the Legislature, to take from the governor all military power and subject him to a council of men opposed to the war; they also protested against an armistice.

They were severely censured as insults to the Legislature

Efforts to Reorganize

The straw that broke the Camel's back was Bill 221. This was an effort of those in the state legislature against the war to undercut the

governor, gain control of the military and remove Indiana from the Civil War.

This also brought the Republicans to bolt the state legislature so the bill could not pass. Those in charge did have enough votes to put the plan into effect.

A veto would have been worthless. In Indiana a veto can be overridden by a simple majority of votes cast on any bill.

The constitution of the state of Indiana requires that 2/3 of the members of either the Senate or House must be on hand to pass any bill. By leaving the General Assembly, business could not be enacted by the House. (membership present would drop below the 2/3 required)

Bill 221 (military control bill) was introduced in the General Assembly on (Feb. 17 1863). The bill provided for the organization of the Indiana Militia, for military tax and for other matters properly concerned with the military of the state. This was introduced in the House. (a-p327-328)

The measure took from the Governor all military power and put it in the hands of four state officers. This placed the military under a four member board composed of State officials and the Governor.

The "Military Board" was to recommend to the Governor suitable persons to be appointed officers of the military. However, these state officers were authorized to give such persons they chose certificates (commissions). One section gave to the general, created under power, to disband regiments or companies and take away their arms.

Another section took away from the Governor all control over the state's arms. This authority was transferred to the Major General created by the board.

In order to speed up this bill it was moved to suspend the rules and read it a second time; the vote was 52 to 37. It did fail because it required 2/3 of Assembly members to vote to suspend the rules.

(Feb 25) The bill was considered in committee of the whole and reported back to the House where eight amendments were proposed which would have had effect of making it unconstitutional and useless.

The amendments were laid upon the table by a vote of 53 to 35. An effort to send the amendments and the bill back to a committee failed 53-16.

Those opposed to the transfer of power left the House and went to Madison. All but three Republicans bolted.

The General Assembly called it quits in (March 9th) and went home without a budget for 1864-65 year.

Democrat leaders thought that Gov. Morton would be required to have a special session of the Assembly to pass an appropriation bill (ap-329-330-331).

He was not assured that the Democrat-sponsored bill to take over the military would not be introduced. So he refused to call the General Assembly into a special session.

Morton operated the state on borrowed money until the 1864 General assembly convened. To his credit an investigation into his financial dealings during this period cleared him of anywrong doing.

So with the adjournment of the 1863 General Assembly ended one of the most troubled and legislative sessions of any time in the history of the state. .

CHAPTER V

OPPOSITION TO POLICIES

Organized resistance to the Administration policies (War, Draft, Emancipation) created, in some cases, civil conflicts.

Some of the civil disturbances were fostered by the various secret societies, (Knights of the Golden Circle, Sons of Liberty and American Knights); others were apparently spontaneous.

This chapter will deal will some of the more violent events that occurred in the 1861-1865 period.

Listed below are some of the instances of civil disturbances.

The Morton forces tried to connect most of these disturbances as being orchestrated by the Democrat party members opposed to the war.

In many cases political feeling, excited by disloyal newspapers, orators and emissaries of rebel organizations was the sole cause of outrages.

This made many portions of the State unsafe for the residence of any man known to support the government.(a-p349)

Resistance to the war occurred in the following counties: Sullivan, Knox, Martin, Orange, Greene, Washington, Daviess, Brown, Jackson, Crawford, Rush, Bartholomew, Fountain, Warren, Johnson, Putman, Blackford. In fact nearly every county in the state. Also in the township or neighborhood where the disloyal element predominated. a-p349.

Union men, uniformly called "abolitionists", were notified to leave the county under penalty of death, or beating, or loss of property.

Many of them were frightened or forced to obey and left their homes, some for a few weeks, some never to return.

Their barns were burned, their homes plundered, their stock stolen;, they themselves were robbed. (a-p349).

Outrages were committed in other quarters with impunity. Deserters banded together to plunder loyal men.

In some places these deserters established defenses and prepared, with the help of citizens, to defy the government.

There is no doubt that this turmoil endangered many communities. Disturbances of the entire State were produced to a very great extent by the efforts of the infamous order of SONS OF LIBERTY (a-350)

In (August 1864) full information was given Governor Morton of the purchase of arms in Grandview, Spencer county, for distribution among the SONS OF LIBERTY (a-p355)

Sullivan and Knox counties were among the most intolerable and infested districts from the very commencement of the Rebellion.

Miles Fletcher superintendent of Public Instruction, was killed.

An investigation before a grand jury composed of rebel sympathizers and prosecuted by an attorney of the same kind discovered no evidence of guilt (a-p355-356)

In Sullivan county a few loyal citizens had their barns and crops burned. Those suffering from this type of action were: Wm Osborn, Charles McDonald.

In Cass township John Miller was visited by a large body of men who attacked him., John Price also was visited at night. Other acts of terrorism that occurred were (Robbed): William Cobb;, Greenbury Price; Mrs. Barney Sausermann whose husband was in the army; Marion Miller; Nelson Sisson, . (Property destroyed): John Miller, John McKees Green Gardner.

In the town of Sullivan the pay train on the Evansville and Crowfordsville railroad was thrown from the track and robbed in full daylight near the town. A Methodist church was burned. A member of the ardent opponents of the Government engaged in acts was arrested. Some 22 were indicted but none were ever brought to trial. Some broke jail and escaped. (a-p357).

Below are, in part, letters received by the governor in 1863. Taken from Indiana Magazine of History V33

In March a Johnson County Clinton township person wrote the following:

Dear Sir:

If they can they go to church on the Sabbath Day wearing their butternuts for breast pins.

Cursing and swearing and daring any and every body to take them off and say if they are drafted they will fight and die at home.

All I want is there any way to stop such action being acted on.

I saw myself ten or twelve armed men at church. On the way home saw them men firing their pistols from wagons among women and children.

(March 23) (Salem Steuben County) S.R. Wisel. We loyal people of Salem Township, Steuben Co. are surrounded by Cecsh of the

deepest dye. We wish to know what can be done to stop them in their mad career.

At public meetings last night, their speaker (Van Nockem) upheld secession, claimed brotherhood with armed traitors.

He openly denounced everything and everybody who were in favor of the suppression of the rebellion.

In short it was well calculated to stimulate the ignorant Copperheads to acts of outrage of which they have already threatened.

The treasonable speech was cheered by all present except six (Union Men).

(March 24,1863) Bedford, (Lawrence County) LFC I wish to inform you that I have been a member of the Knights of the Golden Circle for about three months.

I have served in the capacity of an officer in the Central lodge of my county.

I have the opportunity of knowing all the important moves they're being or going to be made.

While it will be putting my life at stake to expose the Secret organization above, I think that it is very important for proper exposure of this secret order. If exposed this will keep down a rebellion among our people.

Fulton (Fulton County) R. H. Calvert. (June 19, 1863). Our citizens are exposed to imminent danger by unholy men. I allude to Knights of the Golden Circle who are holding their night meetings through the length and breath of the land.

Unless they can be checked immediately I would therefor recommend it would be proper to enforce martial law through the state.

The above are a few of the letters that were received by Governor Morton during the 1863 year.

Crawford & Orange counties

A report filed (Oct. 1864) by Brigadier General Henry Jordan of the Indiana Legion warned of extensive and dangerous conspiracy in Crawford & Orange counties.

Jordan said he based his opinion on the conspiracy on: "Reliable characters, positive evidence of a large number of guerrillas in Kentucky; information from officers of the SONS OF LIBERTY.

From testimony taken by my staff, I am led to believe that not more than 300 persons were engaged in actual hostilities. The guerrillas from the area and Kentucky were divided into small bands. They were interested in plunder,

mostly stolen horses. We recovered most of these". (End of quote).

Jordan sent a list of 91 names of persons who participated in the robbery in a resistance against the draft. (a-p363)

Clay County near Brazil (1864). The secret order of Knights of the Golden Circle or Sons of Liberty is essentially a military organization.

Its drilling and mustering were generally done after night and secretly. It seems to have been thought advisable at times to make a public show, probably to inspire confidence in its strength and obtain recruits. (a-p366)

Plan Take Over

According to the reports issued by Terrell there were plots by the various Orders to free prisoners, arm them and take over some government facilities. One of the plots.. A scheme was concocted in the spring of (1864) between the Order and Kentucky guerrillas for the removal to this state of 3,000 of secretly armed men.

They would assume the character of refugees and assist in bringing about an insurrection.

A general break out was arranged for the early part of (July) but was postponed till the (16th of Aug).

On that day, the Order in Missouri was to rise in arms. The Order in Illinois was to assist.

In Indiana, Ohio and Kentucky a similar revolt was to be inaugurated, aided by Buckner and Morgan. (a-p377)

A few days before the 16th a member of the Congress from the southern part of the state and a member of the Order became greatly alarmed.

Alarmed at the imminence and extent of the danger then came to Indianapolis and with the assistance of several influential friends labored hard to dissuade the leaders from their infamous enterprise.

A large shipment of arms was found when the Chief Commander of the Order in Indiana was arrested. Also arrested were his three major generals.

Morton also received a letter on the (20 of August) that disloyal citizens of Indiana had ordered and paid for arms. This consisted of 30,000 revolvers, 42 boxes of ammunition- all destined for Indianapolis.

Mr. Dodd's office was examined and 400 navy revolvers and 135,000 rounds of ammunition were found boxed and addressed. They were marked as Sunday School Books. (a-p378)

Officers of the Order were: Clement Vallandighan of Ohio supreme commander; Harrison Dodd grand commander of Indiana; Horace Heffren, deputy; William Harrison, secretary. The state's Major generals were Lambdin Milligan, Huntington, John Walker, LaPorte, Andrew Humphreys of Green and William Bowles of Orange. (a-p379)

Whatever the various Orders had organized, they were taken over by those who had one purpose to see that the North did not win the war.

The prime object of the Order, however, was the separation of the Northwestern states from the Union. The Northwestern states would then be formed into a separate government, or into a part of the Rebel Confederacy. The general uprising of the (16th of August 1864) was intent to accomplish or further this object.

ARRESTS

The finding of arms in Dodd's office was enough to arrest members of the Order. Dodd was arrested at the end of August or the first of September and confined in the military prison at Indianapolis. (a-p385)

A few days later William Bowles, Lambdin Milligan, Andrew Humphreys, Steven Horsey and Horace Heffren were arrested and confined in the guardhouse of the Soldiers Home In Indianapolis. (a-p385) . This ended any large scale resistance against the Government policies.

CHAPTER VI

SPIES AND INFORMANTS

Gov. Morton and his District of Indiana General Carrington had a number of informants inside the Secret Orders. These men regularly reported activities of these groups.

One of these men was outstanding; he worked his way into the Sons of Liberty (SOL). Felix Stidger, an impoverished Kentuckion, became a major player in the Sons organization while being a spy for General Carrington. (b-p243).

In addition to Stidger another detective was Park Coffin. However, Coffin's reports are not a part of the official records.

Plans were made by one of the secret Societies to kill Coffin. His activities came out in the treason trial held in Indiana later in 1864.

On the Federal level General Rosecrans, who headed the Department of Missouri, developed a number of informants who gave him information on the activities of the various Secret Orders. (g-p314)

Felix G. Stidger, who had been abused by local guerrillas, was determined to even up the score with them and their sympathizers.

He became the main informant for Indiana Governor Oliver Morton (b-241)

In (May 1864), he entered Carrington's' service, made the necessary acquaintances and got himself initiated into the Sons of Liberty (SOL) in Kentucky (b-241)

He soon won the confidence of Judge Joshua Bullitt, the Kentucky commander of the SOL, who secured his election as Grand Secretary of the Indiana state organization. (b-241-142)

Actually, the Sons of Liberty (SOL) had scarcely begun to organize in Kentucky before Stidger's appearance, and he almost deserved to be considered one of its founders.

Since he was sent on frequent trips into Indiana,. Stidger soon won the friendship of Dodd, Bowles, and other Hoosier Secret Society leaders. In the meantime he made regular reports to Morton and Carrington. (b-p242).

Carrington, by this means, obtained possession of the secrets, ritual, constitution and other written works of the Order.

He compiled and gave this information to Gov. Morton who used it as a political tool against the Democrat party. (b-p242)

At a critical juncture in the state campaign, Grand Commander Dodd plotted a mad conspiracy which, in effect, forged the most potent weapon in the hands of Governor Morton.

Fearing to make known his fantastic schemes even to the Sons of Liberty (SOL), Dodd and a few cohorts devised a plan to free the rebel prisoners at Camp Morton; to seize the arsenal, and to create a general insurrection.

The ultimate objective was the formation of a Northwest Confederacy or possibly joining the Northwest with the south. (Aug 16,1864) was fixed as the date for the uprising. (b-p243)

This plan was destroyed when on (July 30) Judge Bullitt, one of Dodd's few confidants, was arrested by military authorities at Louisville, Dodd immediately revealed the whole story of the conspiracy to Stidger.

On the night of (Aug. 2) Stidger reported the plot to Morton and Carrington. The Governor's reaction was one of amazement that Dodd could contemplate such an insane enterprise. (b-p243)

Yet Morton and Carrington took no action. They did prepare the Legion. This prompted the Democrats later to charge that Morton would have allowed the insurrection to transpire to make political capital from it. (b-p244).

Dodd in (early August) described his plans to J.J. Bingham, editor of the Indianapolis Sentinel, and chairman of the Democrat State Central committee. (b-p244)

Dodd asked Bingham to call a party mass meeting at Indianapolis (Aug. 16) to aid in the execution of his project. (B-P244)

Bingham refused to call such a meeting;, he did call the Central Committee to gather and all of them put pressure on Dodd to abandon the project. Dodd promised to do so. (b-p244)

On (Aug. 20) Morton received information that a quantity of arms had been shipped from New York to Dodd's printing establishment in Indianapolis. (this was the information Morton was waiting for, to make arrests)(b-p245)

The military entered the office and found 32 boxes labeled tracts which contained 400 revolvers; also they seized some ammunition.

Morton then went public and claimed that Dodd was just a tool for other men and that the whole Democratic party was equally guilty of his crime (b-p245).

Morton lost no time in spreading the message as did other Union leaders of alleged Democrat treason. (b-p246)

Morton later in (August) decided that the leaders of the Sons of Liberty should be arrested at once and tried for treason (b-p246).

General Carrington disagreed. He contended that he had no authority to make the arrests and doubted the legality of military trials. (b-p246)

Morton got Carrington sacked and on (Aug. 25) secured the appointment of Gen, Alvin Hovey.

(Early in September 1864) Hovey arrested Dodd. He then created a military commission of Indiana officers: Morton named Maj Henry Burnett, prosecutor. J. W. Gordon and Martin Ray were to act as Dodd's council. (b-p247)

The trial began (Sep. 22) and Dodd thought he could beat the charges. But on (Sep 27) Stidger appeared. Dodd was shocked- he had no idea that Stidger was a government agent.

However, in his testimony Stidger had to admit that he had no direct knowledge of the alleged military branch of the Sons of Liberty and that he had never seen any of its members engaged in military drill. (b-p247)

Park Coffin

Edward Hoffman also reported that on (May 24, 1864) Lt. Lewis informed him that it was suspected that S. P. Coffin was a U. S. detective. (p-270).

Hoffman continued on his report (May 29). Lt. Lewis had reported his friend Coffin, formerly of North Carolina, assisted him in two different ways. First he represented him as a member of the organization, second he helped him become a delegate from Kentucky to the national assembly of this secret organization.

In a subsequent interview Lt Lewis introduced Coffin to a secret organization.

Lewis said Coffin was unwilling to divulge the true secrets of this organization to the Governor and General Carrington unless he could realize $5,000 .

Coffin thought if he could make $5,000 for himself that he could divulge this thing to the authorities without doing the organization much harm.

A principal resort of the Butternuts or Copperheads in Indianapolis was at the Exchange, a saloon and billiard room on Illinois street, kept by Daniel Bacon. (p-273)

Herrington wrote Capt G. H. Potter Assistant Adjutant General of Ohio on (June 5), on utilizing Coffin.

He wrote that he had letters from a deserter in Canada, who was well vouched or and who is willing to co-operate with suitable detectives.

He said that he had S.P. Coffin to send. He did state that he needed funds to do this (p-340)

On (June 6), Carrington wrote to Potter the following: I am checking the Kentucky organization which is as yet in its infancy; but several strong and prominent men are in it already.

One of the high officials of the Order left this morning with cipher, seal and private books required for the Ohio convention.

He is charged with its dissemination, but being in my confidence, had one of his own agents, who was sent to Henderson, Ky.

He came here with an order to put out of the way (Assassination) Detective Coffin. (p-342.

ROSECRANS SPY NETWORK

[Below is information from Official Records Series II Vol 7]

It was a crushing blow to Major General William Starke Rosecrans when he lost his commander after his defeat at Chickamauga. (Sep 19-20 1863).

He waited for another command that didn't come until (Jan 30, 1864) when he took command of the department of Missouri.

"Old Rosie" proved to be a master at establishing a spy system. He targeted the disloyal groups in Missouri, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana and Ohio.

He had only been in command a few weeks before he had embarked on establishing a system to find out just what the disloyal groups were up to.

Rosecrans had under his command a Provst Marshall General, J. P. Sanderson, who was up to the task of gathering spies for the Union cause.

His first dispatch to Rosecrans on establishing a network of spies began in (March). Sanderson reported to the General in June the following:

(June 12), St. Louis, Mo.

Immediately after my assignment to the position I now hold, in the beginning of March, I obtained information, on the same day from several sources.

One of these sources of information was a man named G. Byron Jones, now in Graiot street prison, a Rebel officer charged with various crimes. (p-228)

About the same time, in addition to Jones, another person presented himself. He was William Stinson .

I learned from a Capt. Talmage, provost marshall at Cairo , Il, a man calling himself Dr. Edward Everett also had some information for us.

I believe that all he wished was money for his services; he was not trustworthy.

I put the rebel officers Jones and Stinson to work for me to ferret out the operations of the Secret Order in this department. Both being members Stinson of the Golden Circle and Jones to that of the American Knights. (p-229)

I also employed a thoroughly reliable Union man to make a tour through the territory. He was to drop his name and use the name David Wayne; his dispatches are to be marked H. (p-230)

I also recruited another strong Union man and his communications with this office will be William Taylor. I recruited another New England man by birth and education; he is shrewd, cool and cautious. He obtained valuable information in the past- his name is Edward F Hoffman

I received a letter from the district provost marshal at Saint Joseph stating there was a Confederate officer imprisoned there who could and would supply information.

His sworn statement is that of Abraham McGuire (p-230)

I selected Hoffman to be sent to Louisville. He left here (May 2). I also dispatched James Forrester to meet and cooperate with him. They were entire strangers to each other. Forrester had been in the south, was thoroughly familiar with Southern men and localities. I sent Jones to Illinois. After returning Forrester was sent to Quincy Ill. Hoffman to Indiana. End of Sandersons' report.

The Order is known as Order of American Knights (p-231)

EDWARD F HOFFMAN

[Reports from Official Records Series III Vol 7]

One of the best informants was Edward F. Hoffman who was under the direction of Col J. P. Sanderson, Provost Marshall General located at St. Louis, Mo.

These report by Hoffman stated in (April 1864). Below are excerpts from his reports:

St. Louis, (April 28, 1864:) I had an interview with John Taylor. Hoffman tells of his experience in trying to gain the confidence of Taylor (p-254)

(May 7) Louisville. We are in possession of information in regards to a huge local plot which will culminate in less than a week.

In (May 13) he reported that he had received his first degree in the organization. He also gave the name of a spy, Thomas Forrest .

(May 17) report he gives the names of some of the Illinois members

(May 19), Louisville. Excuse my long silence. There is a reason for it. I am in full possession of the fundamental principals of the Star Order.

(May 23), The Order is in national council here tonight and has been today. I have not been able to get into it for want of credentials. While I write, a Judas is in the body. He is selling out for $5,000.

(May 23), in this account Hoffman urges the arrest of those present.(those attending the council). He warns that the house in which the session is being held is under heavy guard and that every northern state was represented.

(May 26), The member and General Carrington overruled the Governor, who I learn is quite displeased (p-260)

(May 29) St. Louis. In various saloons in the city I heard Hurrahs for Jeff Davis daily. Dr. Thorton spoke to me of the devotion of the rebel women in Kentucky. I believe Miss Sydney Crall who is at the head of Rebel society in Louisville, to be engaged in secreting upon their persons quantities of percussion caps, powder etc and carry them to Southern lines.

A principal resort of the Butternuts or Copperheads in Indianapolis is at the exchange, a saloon and billiard room on Illinois street, operated by Daniel Bacon. (p-273

On (June 2) he was in Cincinnati trying to build confidence in himself for the Rebels. He also discussed how some of those in Cincinnati are avoiding the draft. (p-30-303)

Reporting from Cincinnati (June 11:) The organization exists here, and fully one-third of the voters of city are members. They are armed pretty well and prepared for any emergency. Since the Indianapolis convention they do not communicate with a stranger unless he has a letter of introduction from someone they know.

(June 13), Cincinnati: I have been closeted with McCormick for the past two hours. The manufacturing is located at the rear of the Spencer home. H. professes not to belong to a secret organization

I have not had time to develop Miss Penny. She is too old to be impulsive and has too clear a head to confide where there is no object to be gained. She leaves here tomorrow.

I am well convinced she is carrying percussion caps and letters of information.

(June 14), Cincinnati 1864:. I had a long interview with my old friend Wiehl. He introduced me to two Rebels of some importance: Samuel Thomas, a former U.S. District Marshal.

He is on trial before military commission.

Miss Penny left here and she should be looked after. (he gave the description of the lady). I attended the famous Robinson circus and the Butternut were on hand and the colors represented the Rebel colors.

(June 17), Cincinnati I told you in my last report of the mystery about the telegraphic dispatch; that the Rebels manage to get all our secret being sent by our dispatches. I solved the mystery last night. Baker told me about it.

He has two sons in the Union Line telegraph office in this city. One is a messenger boy; the other is a telegraph operator. There is much corruption here and a little more time would enable me to uncover much of it (p335)

(June 20), Hamilton, Butler Co, Ohio: Sears says that they have so many new members to each township. He thinks that a day will soon be designated on which all the states will notify the president that if members of this organization now in arrest are not released that hostages will be taken, property destroyed and revolution begun.

They expect bloodshed and have determined to destroy the leading abolitionists and burn their property p719.

I was introduced to Mr. Troutman, the senior on the council. He is the big gun. He is V"s friend. He visited V in Windsor Canada. He says V has received from his friend in Ohio $100,000. p720

[Huffman while in Ohio tried to have a meeting with Vallandigham.] He asked Vallandigham for a letter of reference for a friend in Detroit.

The request was refused by Vallandigham p729. Huffman complained of some articles written in the Indianapolis Journal that there was some collusion between Vallandigham and Morgans' raid into Indiana and Ohio. This newspaper article had warned Vallandigham of a possible leak in his organization p730.

(June 30), Dayton Ohio:. There was much excitement today. Nauerth took me kindly by the hand, ushered me up to his own bar and treated me, then branched off on business.He told me frankly that this secret order met where I told you it did--upstaris in his house.

There were over 100 at the meeting tonight. The two leading men in it were, Tom Thrasher and John A. McMahon, a brother in law to Val.

The object in the main of the meeting tonight was for co-operation in resisting the draft under the approaching call or to devise means to keep the government from enforcing it. (P731)

Nauerth keeps his house well armed. I formed the acquaintance of Stephen C. James, who resides near Mount Carmel, IN. They will organize there again immediately. He kept arms (revolvers) to sell on commission. His cousin who keeps the toll gate near there sent Val $50 while in Canada. He says they had a joint stock fund in each county in Indiana.

This was used to pay whenever a Butternut was drafted. He says this money is untouched yet. P732

(July 1, 1864) Dayton, O. Hoffmans report to Col J. P. Sanders, U. S. Provost Marshal. General:

Tonight I again visited the Cooper House. I formed the acquaintance of a Mr. Livingston, a member who has a family in the South. He says Ohio, Indiana and Illinois are united in opposition to the pending draft or further tyranny. p732

(July 2), Detroit, Mich: I left Dayton O. on the train I formed the acquaintance of a young stock dealer who lives in Miami County, Ohio.

He said the Butternuts have a strong secret organization in Troy. They are well armed with revolvers and carbines and spend much time drilling. They meet on Monday nights. He says they will resist the draft. (p-733

Toledo, Ohio (July 6), I was forced to leave Detroit for lack of funds.

(July 7) Terre Haute, In:. Arrived here passed through Peru, Indianapolis. Am looking for a man name Lewis who says he is a government detective. (p-737) I gathered conclusive evidence that Lewis is a covert Rebel and only a detriment to the government. I shall there fore report what he said in the same manner that I would., the statement of any other rebel.

He said that since their convention in Indianapolis in May they have had another convention of this secret order in Indianapolis.

They met in the old Sentinel building in a room occupied by a lawyer. I believe his name is Woodbury. (p-738)

(July 8), St Louis I believe I gave to much time to Cincinnati. I met a man named Joe Butler who hails from Vicksburg, Miss and is a professed Rebel.

[Hoffmans account ended on (July 12) as far as official records are concerned].

Report Of William Taylor

Sanderson also had William Taylor in the ranks of the secret societies. Taylor's correspondence started in (May 1864,). in Missouri.Taylors reports are listed below:

In compliance with my undertaking I respectfully report that the institution known as the O.A. K. has meetings in each ward of the city of St. Louis.

Col. Lewis from Saline county, once a prisoner at Alton, belong to it. A man named Fields is a member of official standing.

The matters talked of at the meeting was as to the war; the good condition of the Southern army and of Prices Missouri forces. The necessity of being armed and ready at a moments warning to cooperate. 22,000 are said to be in Missouri, expect to have 76,000 in three months.

The brothers in Illinois are to be ready to throw 10,000 men into St.Louis when required.

At another meeting Durdee worth grand senior reported that Missouri had 22,000;' Illinois 140,000' Indiana 100,000, Ohio 80,000 Kentucky 60,000. There were 61 members present at the meeting (p-253)

Taylor also revealed the names of many in the Order in Missouri and Illinois. (p-338-339) This ended Taylors report.

James Forrester

Col Sanderson also recruited James Forrester to spy on the Secret Order.

Forrester was sent from Louisville to Quincy, Illinois and the eastern part of northern Missouri, by Col Sanderson.

Forrester filed his report with Sanderson (May 24, 1864). He worked his way into the confidence of those supporting the southern cause and seemed to gather a lot of information on their activates. Below is some of his report to Sanderson:

I arrived in Louisville (May 11), I made acquaintance with one of your agents, Edward Hoffman. Hoffman introduced me to Dr. Thornton, of Missouri and Henry Foster, of New Orleands. They proved to be Rebels.

Foster afterward proved to be a Rebel spy belonging to the 56 Indiana Volunteers C. S. Army.

Foster had been through the cities of St. Louis, Memphis and had gone down to Louisville to pick up what few items he could.

Through Foster and Thornton I got acquainted with other parities in the city of Louisville of Southern proclivities. They gave me to understand they were furnishing arms and objects of war and men to the Rebel army.

I professed to be from Missouri and a Rebel. They wanted me to join and go with them. I took down the names of those who donated money for arms and turned them over to authorities. (Union)

I also got Henry Foster (Robert Wilbur) captured and turned over to the authorities. Wilbur had acquired a false passport and a false name. (p-258-259).

I got information that the Southern recruits were going to concentrate all the men at a Grant farm to be fed and taken care of.

They were to concentrate there and after they were armed and equipped they were to enter the city of Louisville in the night, rob the bank and post office and make their way off. They were to get their saddles and horses out of the U.S. Government stable on 8th street. They then were to go south and join Forrest Rebel army.

A great many citizens of this community were helping the Rebels in this effort: John Schneider, Joseph Martin, J. H. Culter, C. C. Spencer and J. N. Willard & Co furnished money and ammunition.

My true object for visiting Louisville was to ascertain something in relation to a secret organization that was going on in the states of Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, Louisville was also supposed to have some members. Soon after arriving here I learned there were some members there.

The aforesaid Thornton and Foster were members as were also J. C. McCormick, Donnell, Martin and Sparks. I received my first degree of the Order. There is no regular lodge in Louisville. I also got many signs. The Order is called the Star organization. I am required to keep in my house revolvers and double barreled shot guns.(p-259)

Forrester was dispatched to the East coast. I brought Forrester in communion with General Dixon man employed in the McClellan Minute Guards. D. Chaffe was born in Charleston S.C. and raised in Georgia. He had over 30 years experience of Southern life and is well acquainted with prominent men in the South.

Forrester says he is a keen shrewd man and very scary. Dr. R. F. Stevens is the only known public head of the organization here (p-355.) End of Forresters' activities as a spy for the Union forces,

William Stinson

Col Sanderson had assigned Stinson to get the signs and objects of the Southern League or corps or de Belgique.

Signs-- Hailing sign--stand erect with arms folded. Answered in the same way.

Object-- To unite those of the rebels in the state of Missouri who are willing, should an opportunity occur to take up arms against the United States Government and assist the rebels.

The members of this Order are sworn not to take up arms against the Southern Confederacy. If possible, to resist a draft and if drafted they are to desert.

My evidence implicating the Belgian counsel is two fold--first all the commissions I have seen are headed Diplomatic De Belgique, secondly positive assurance from Dr. M.C. McCarmey, one of the accredited agents. Simpson submitted his report to Col. Sanderson May 14, 1864. p-241)

Stinson made his next report on (May 24).

He reported that about the (14 or 15th of February) he was boarding with Dr. M.C. McAmey in St. Louis. (Stinson reported his conversation with the doctor) "He asked me if I knew anything about the K.G.C." at the same time giving me a sign which I recognized and answered. MCamey proposed to introduce me to some friends in the city. The next day McCamey informed me that the Corps de Belgique was strictly a military organization and the he was a colonel and offered to have me commissioned..

2 Officers and agents are given commissions or certificates empowering them to locate lands, but in fact to recruit for the Rebels army in certain districts.

Stinson learned that each recruit is listed as an acre of ground and a track is a regiment. Recruits are to sworn to resist all calls and drafts if possible; if not, they are to go into the Federal army and then desert. (p247-248)

William Thorpe

June 18, William Thorpe reported to Col Sanderson the following dispatch:

As per your orders I am at Hamilton, Ohio, to attend the Democratic District convention. There are 75 to 100 delegates here. I am acting as a corespondent of the Chicago Times. The first

person whose acquaintance I made was J McElwee who appeared to be one of the leaders of the convention. We talked about Vallandigham.

The convention assembled in the courthouse, I found out that Vallandigham was not in Canada but a couple miles from Hamilton. I had in mind hunting up an official and arrest Vallandigham.

On my way to dinner I saw a squad of men putting their revolvers in order and from what I saw and head I imagined most of Vallandigham's friends were armed. Vallandigham was selected as a delegate to the Chicago convention. He appeared at the convention amid cheers and shouts.

A resolution was passed by the District convention welcoming him home. Then the convention adjourned. (p321-322-323).

William Jones

[Another Sanderson spy was William Jones. Jones made a report in Jacksonville, (May , 1864). He reported there is no O.A.K. in Jacksonville. (p-241)].

Jones then filed a three page report on his activates: Excerpts from the report follow: It has come to my knowledge that secret societies (a restoration of the Golden Circle) called Knights of America are rapidly and extensively being formed all over the state, and in fact through the whole middle west, extending as far as New York where they have a temple.

The Grand commander from Missouri is Charles Hunt of St. Louis. He is a candidate for re-election to the grand council. (p-243). End of Report. Jones stated that he is not signing the report for fear of being discovered. He stated that Vallandigham is a member of the society.

He reported that on (March 1), he obtained information from John Harrison of Howard County, Mo that an organization existed in the Northern States called the Order of American Knights.

The object of the organization was opposition to the Federal government and assisting the confederated government.

From Charles Hunt I have obtained the strength of this Order in Missouri at 23,000. (p-244).Jones reported that there were plans for Southern forces to come North and Missouri forces with men in readiness in Indiana, Ohio, Michigan and Illinois to co-operate,with the Southern forces.

The congressional members elected from Indiana, Dodd, promised Mr. Hunt a force of 10,000 men if this movement took place.

It was reported that the Order of American Knights had three degrees. He listed the degrees.

Jones reported in again (May 17) on further activates in Illinois. He reported that there was no O.A.K organization at Jackson but there was one in the county. He also reported that members of the Democrat party of which the Times newspaper is the organ, do not belong to the Order but are cognizant of and in sympathy with it.

However a group does express the most utter hatred and enmity to the Federal administration .

During my trip I learned that the organization of the O.A. K. extends all over the state of Illinois. They claim to have 80,000 members well armed.

Mr. Storey editor of the Times, told me that he had arms for 60 men in his office. (p-276-277)

(June 13) Jones reported from Missouri. He reported that there were members in Howard, Callaway counties.

[This ended the informants information. Both the Federal and state officials had knowledge of the extent of these OAK and OSL organizations in Missouri, Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, and could close down the groups at any time].

CHAPTER VII

WHITENESS

The Union officers were successful in extracting information from those connected with the Order of American Knights.

Col J. P. Sanders, Provost Marshal General and J. C. Dodge, Lt. and Assistant Provost Marshal, were the two officers who questioned 10 persons who admitted being members of the secret Orders. The Union officers interviewed the secret Order members between (July and September 1864).

Some co-operated with Federal authorities, others did not. One of those testifying reversed his story: some were very evasive as to their part in the Secret societies.

The War Of rebellion Series II Vol 7 was the source for this information.

ANDREW KIRKPATRICK

Kirkpatrick was of lawful age, resided in St. Louis, Mo. had been keeping the Great Wester saloon on corner of Vine and Third Street. Arrested (June 3, 1864) .

He was confined in Gratiot prison in St. Louis. He had ample facility for sharing of events connected with the Order of American Knights in the State of Missouri.

He had recently made the acquaintance of a fellow prisoner named John Thistle. Thistle informed Kirkpatrick that such an organization was certainly in existence in Missouri.

(Q) Question (**A) answer** (Kirkpatrick).

Q--at who's instigation were you arrested?

A-- I don't know.

Q-- what is the information you wish to give to Col. Sanderson?

A--On or about (June 1, 1864) Doctor Barrett of Springfield, Mo. came into my saloon and remarked to me: Kirk what are you doing here? I told him I was in saloon business. Barrett remarked Why don't' you sell out. He said you had better sell out and go with us.

I asked him what he meant by us. He said there was an operation for the defeat of the Federal authorities in this state.

He left and I was arrested before he returned.

Q--is that all he said to you?

A--Yes and I believe that all the bushwhacking carried on in Missouri is

attributable to his organization spoken of by Barrett.

Q--when if ever did you take the oath of allegiance to the Federal government.

A--(Feb 1862) and again the following (June). (end of testimony P-748-749).

* * *

Not to much information there. The Union officers believed Kirkpatrick's tavern was a rallying point for all the Rebel sympathizers and also the Secret Orders.

JOHN SHORE

Resides in the city of St Louis and by profession was a doctor. He had not taken the oath of allegiance. Arrested (27, May 1864).

Q--do you know what charge you have been arrested?

A-- I have heard intimated that I was suspected of rendering aid and comfort to the Rebels and also being implicated with Charles Hunt.

Q--what do you understand by the report of being implicated with Charles Hunt?

A--that Mr Hunt's impression when he was examined was, because he was suspected of belonging to a secret political organization opposed to the Federal government.

Q-- are you a member of any secret society or organization.

A-- I am not.

Q--do you know of the existence of secret political organizations in the city or state of Missouri.

A--I do not.

Q--Have you within the past four months attended any secret meeting.

A--I have not.

Q--what do you understand by the secret political organization spoken of by Charles Hunt?

A -- Mr. Hunt's own version, Corps de Belgique.

Q--do you know of the existence of an oranization called the Corps de Belgiuqe?

A--I do not.

Q--do you know of the existence of an organization called the Knights of the Golden Circle?

A--I do not (end of S Shore testimony p750 thou 752.)

RILEY WHITINGS

He was employed in the United states Express office in St. Louis.

Q--have you since arrest and incarceration made a statement under oath touching an organization called the Order of American Knights or Sons of Liberty.

A--yes.

Q--what is that secret political organization called?

A--I do not know.

Q--when and where were you initiated into said secret political originations?

A.--in the spring of (1864), in February I don't like to tell where.

Q--where were you initiated?

A--I decline to answer that question.

Q--by whom were you initiated into the organization.

A-- decline to answer.

Q--were you a member of said Order at the time of your arrest May 25, 1864.

A--I supposed I was.

Q--are you still a member?

A--I suppose I am.(end of testimony p753-754

JOHN D CAMPBELL

He lived within four miles from Centralia, IL. He moved there (May 8,1864) from Ashley County Ark.

During the last two months had been frequently asked to join the O.A.K' (p 747-748)

ABRAHAM MCGUIRE

He was a resident of Buchanan County, Mo. His occupation was school teacher. He was a native of North Carolina.

McGuire was sworn into the Confederate Army (July 1863). He was a private in Company C 2nd Missouri Cavalry. He deserted from the Rebel forces.

The school teacher was arrested (Jan 12, 1864) charged as being a guerrilla and robber. He was tried (Feb. 10), and sent on (April 27) to be confined to Gratiot street military prison.

About the beginning of (1863) while in Buchanan County Mo., he was solicited by David Brooks, a minister of the gospel living in his neighborhood, to become a member of a secret organization at that time known as the order "Knights of the Golden Circle" He joined and was later elected vice president of the lodge.

The objects and purposes of this Order as taught to him: unending hostility to the

Federal Government, its recognized agents and armed resistance to it authority.

Sympathy, aid, and comfort to all engaged in rebellion under a solemn oath. He named 14 men that are that were members of the Order and 33 more that were in a subordinate roll. (p-256-257) His statement was taken (May 4, 1864) by J. C. Dodge Assistant Provost Marshal General.

MARY JANE PITMAN

As stated women were an important part of helping the Rebel cause. One of these who promoted the Rebel cause was Mary Ann Pitman.

She was arrested and an examination was made by Col J. P. Sanderson about her activities. The interview was held (June 20, 1864).

The information below is the result of Col Sanderson questioning her: (Mary Jane Pitman) she volunteered the following information:

"I resided near Chestnut Bluff, Tenn and went into the Confederate service on the breaking out of the Rebellion. She related her military service serving as a man under the name Lt. Rawley. I later did missions as a woman then I also procured ordnance and ammunition; my name then was Mary Hays.

My first trip to St Louis was during the winter of 1864".. She recapped her efforts and successes in this roll.

The question and answer session is below:

Q you have spoken of a secret organization which enables strangers to meet and recognize each other as belonging to it. Will you please give me the name of it?

A I know of such an organization but it is known by different names. The members, by whatever name known in different sections, are enabled to know and recognize each other by one and the same means.

Q--are you a member of the Order?

A--I am, but it is proper to add that at the last meeting which I attended they passed an order which I consider as utterly atrocious and barbarous so I told them I would have nothing more to do with it. They made me take an oath never to reveal what I knew of it.

Q-- are the officers of the Confederate Army generally members of the Order?

A--they are.

Q--have you any knowledge whether President Davis and the several officers of the Confederate government are members of the Order?

A--I know Davis is, but I cannot say whether the rest are or not.

Q--how long ago did you become a member of it?

A--well, it has been something near two years. I think about that.

Q--Have you any objection to giving the name of the heads of the two sections?

A--Vallandigham is the head man in the North and Price is the head man in the south.

Q--are there means furnished by this order for communications passing between the two supreme commanders.

A--there are.

Q--have you any knowledge of officers or soldiers of the federal Army belonging to the Northern section of the order?

A--I do not know. I have heard Forrest say there were quite a number of them. I did capture a Union lieutenant who belonged to this Order and was told to immediately turn him loose.

Q--are Southern Confederate officers put in possession of important information of movement of the Federal government prior to their execution?

A--they are.

Several questions were asked about money. One implicated Secretary of Treasurer Case in transferring federal bank notes for gold.

The questions then turned to the activities of both South and North as to the future operations.

Q--have you any knowledge as to the general understanding among the Member of the Order in the South as how a march would take place in the north.

A--well I have. Of course I know.

Q--how was it to be done?

A-- Vallandigham was to be in Chicago at this meeting that was to be held there. He was to meet there and make a speech and they were to rise up then and from that they would rise all over the states where the Order existed.

Q--Is It not to produce a counter revolution in the north?.

A -yes sir.

Q --have Southern members of the Order information to the extent of the Order in the free states?

A-- yes they have.

Q-- were there any definite plans for operation when this rise of the members of the Order in the North should take place?

A-- yes it was understood that the making of the speech by Vallandigham at Chicago was to be

the signal and members were to meet in their lodge .

Q--have you any knowledge either of your own or heresy general understanding that members of the Order are to be found among officers or privates belonging to the Union Army, who either lead our men into ambush or placed where they may be taken or killed or of killing our own men themselves when occasion offered.?

A--I have both.

Q--you spoke of the last meeting you attended that proceeding had taken place which you regarded as outrageous that you had given them notice of your determination to wash your hands of them. Have you any objection, without going into circumstance, to give the reasons whey their course so revolted you?

A--well some of the reasons why; was because their action contemplated robbery, murder and almost anything else that was mean, dishonorable, criminal and despicable.

Q -- Is it a part of the duty of a member of the Order that he should be armed.

A--well it is that he should be armed all the time, provided there is not some confusion made in some way, so the he would be obliged to conceal his arms.

Q--is the list of members of a lodge gotten up in such way as to be the same as a muster roll to indicate what arms each member has?

A--it is.

Q--from what you know of the feeling and temper and general disposition of the members of the Order, do you believe that they would either carry out their mission upon a member of the Order that disclosed it to me, or myself, if an opportunity offered to assassinate?

A--if they could murder you secretly I know they would do it and especially a member of the order who would reveal the secrets. I know they would.

(end of interview 345 through 354).

WILLIAM CHEENEY

Born in New York, emigrated to Missouri in (1855). Published a newspaper in Jefferson City, Mo until (May 1861).

Went to Memphis, Tenn in (June) same year and from there to Richmond. At first he believed the South was justified in their actions, changed his mind. Returned to Washington D. C and under an assumed name.

He brought to Washington information to President Lincoln of great importance. He

delivered the information to the White House signing his name as Wm Walker.

In (1863) after an illness he went into the printing business under the name of William Grummond . He did this to dodge Missouri creditors.

He was arrested in (1863) and returned to Missouri and was confined in Gratiot Military prison.

Cheeney made the acquaintance in prison of Charles Dunn who represented that he was deputy commander of a secret organization known as the Order of American Knights. That while in prison Dunn had initiated him into the mysteries organization.

Dunn had informed him that the object of the organization
was the overthrow of the present administration and install their own party in power.

Dunn also told him that Charles Hunt was Grand Commander of Missouri Order of American Knights. Dunn also reported that 3,000 belonged to the Order. (end of interview p- 343-344

CHARLES HUNT

Resided in Saint Louis, MO

Q--have you held office under the present Administration of the Federal Government?

A--have not. Has held a position of Belgian consul with the consent of the present Administration.

Q-- have the duties of the office of Belgian counsel heretofore performed by you at any time called you out of the state of Missouri and out of the U.S.?

A--yes, out of the state and out of the country.

Q-- have you been beyond the Federal lines within a year last past?

A--yes was in Windsor, Canada last April to especially to see Mr. Vallandigham.

Q--who accompanied you upon that occasion?

A--no one from this place; went with a friend.

Q--from what place did said friend accompany you to see Mr. Vallandigham?

A-- I decline answering.

Q-- what was the friend's name?

A--I decline answering.

Q--wwhat was the business with Mr Vallandigham?

A--to organize the peace branch of the Democratic party

Q--why did you oppose the organization of that wing of the Democrat party who were in favor of peace, the representatives of which met at Windsor, Canada in (April 1864) at the hotel occupied by Mr. Vallandigham?

A--because he was and is opposed to the organization of the Democratic party in any form and because the present President of the Republican party now in power has matured his plans both financially and military, for the suppression of the rebellion and I deemed it best for the country that the party should bring the war to the final issue.

Q--were you sent to Canada as representative of the Democracy to mature any plans for future action?

A--no sir, I went of my own volition and without any power delegated by any party or parties.

Q--were you in Detroit in the month of (February 1864)

A--I was not to the best of my recollection.

Q--have you purchased any arms off any description in Saint Louis or elsewhere within the past year.

A--one six shooting French revolver.

Q--do you Know of the existence of an Order, a secret Order of the American Knights.

A-- I do not.

Q-- are you a member of either of the Orders named respectively: Corps de Belgique and Order of American Knights.

Interview (June 17, 1864). by J. C. Dodge (p-317-th 321).

In July Hunt was brought before Col. J. P. Sanderson, July 23, 1864. At that time Hunt had been arrested and was confined in the Military Prison in St. Louis. You will note the change in his testimony.

Q-- have you any knowledge of an Order or secret association existing in this department?

A-- I have

Q-- state the name and character of that organization.

A-- it is known by two names: that of the American Association is the outside name and The Order of American Knights is the other.

Q-- were you a member of it?

A-- I was

Q-- when did you become a member of it?

A-- (March 8, 1863).

Q--Did you hold any position in the organization?

A--Grand commander of the state of Missouri

Q--did you continue up to the time of your arrest?

A--no sir I resigned entirely from the Order on (May 14 or 16th 1864).

Q--had you any reason for giving your resignation?

A--I desired to withdraw and availed myself of the first opportunity in which I could honorably do so.

Q--during the time you were a member of the Order did you in that character make any visit to Mr Vallandigham?

A--no I did go there, not as Grand Commander of the Order, but those of us who met there belonged the Order.(end of interview p627-28)

CHARLES DUNN

One the leading men in the movement of the Order of American Knights was Charles Dunn. He was born in Maryland, later moved to Illinois and then Missouri. Dunn was superintendent of a gaslight company in Saint Louis, Missouri . He was questioned by Sanderson (July 29, 1864).

Q-- what is your age?

A--40.

Q-- have you ever been in the military service?

A-- in the Mormon war in 1845.

Q--have you during the present Rebellion given aid in any manner to those engaged in it?

A--not to my knowledge

Q--have you within the last three years directly or indirectly, been the recipient of written or verbal communications from any one and particularly Sterling Price, of the so-called Confederate Army?

A--no sir.

Q-- are you acquainted with Charles L Hunt of Saint Louis.

A-- yes sir intimately.

Q-- what are you relations now and what have they been heretofore with him?

A--our political views are precisely alike, both being Democrats; beside I had business relations with him.

Q--have you not been in the habit of visiting Mr. Hunt's office, or building in which it is situated for secret political purposes within the last 6 months or year?

A--I decline answering that question .

Q--are you a member now or have you been a member of a secret political organization?

A-- I have been but not now.

Q--what is the character of such secret political organization?

A--to restore the union.

Q--did you hold any position with the secret organization?

A--second command in the state of Missouri.

Dunn refused to name the organization. He indicated that if he revealed anything about the organization he faced death.

He also maintained that the organization was not hostile to the Union. Dunn was asked what the strength of the organization was in various states. Here are his answers. Missouri 10,000; Illinois 100,000; Indiana 125,000; Ohio 40,000; Michigan 20 to 25,000; He did not know about Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, New York.

Continue on with the questions of Dunn:

Q-- do you understand that this Order or organization outside of Missouri was armed.

A--I have heard that a portion were armed.

Q-- was this Order called Corps de Belgique?

A-- no sir

Q-- was it called Order of American Knights

A--yes sir.

Q--what is the relation exiting between the leading member of the Order of American Knights and General Sterling Price of the C. S. Army

A-- I do not know that there is any.

Q-- what has been the modus operation of arming this Order in Missouri?

A--they have been instructed to arm themselves and to assist in putting down bushwhacking.

Q-- have you a knowledge of a man named William Douglas?

A--yes, I have knowledge of him.

Q--did he serve with Rebel Price's army in Missouri?

A--that I cannot tell. I never heard that he had.

(COMMENT that time a number of passages were read to Dunn from some of the lectures in a deceleration of principles of the Order.)

The questions then turned to meetings.

Q--have you any knowledge of a February meeting of the supreme council in the city of New York?

A--I believe there was such a meeting, but have no positive knowledge of it.

Q--have you knowledge of the meeting of the commanders of the Order in April at Windsor Canada.

A--I know there was some there, but how many I can not tell.

(The questioning continued as to delegates to the Democrat convention also on other related subject to the Order). His answers were evasive, He didn't know or he didn't think. The questioning of Dunn extended over a two day period. (end of Dunn being questioned p628-641

GREEN B SMITH

Smith held an office in the Missouri OAK, he also had been previously questioned and was not cooperative. He had a change of heart and talked very frankly to Sanderson. His testimony was very revealing and long. Below are some of the questions and answer he gave. (His testimony was 19 pages long.)

Smith was born and raised in Saint Louis Missouri and was a clerk by occupation. He had worked in M. Griomsely & Co store since 1850.

Q--What is said organization called?

A.-- Order of American Knights, recently changed to Sons of Liberty.

Q-- What is the number of the council to which you have and do not belong?

A--It never had a number, but was called the George Washington Temple.

Q-- What is the relation between OAK and the so called Confederate Government?

A--Its object was to aid and assist the Confederate Government and endeavor to restore the Union as it was prior to the Rebellion.

Q In what form was aid and assistance given to the Confederate Government?

A-- In any and all ways.

Q Do you know of any aid and assistance having been rendered by the OAK?

A--I know that arms and ammunition have been purchased by members of the OAK to sent to member in the country.

Q When were the members of the OAK fist instructed to arm and prepare for a revolution?

A-- In the (fall of 1863).

Q-- In what manner was the Confederate Army to cooperate with this order?

A-- The OAK was to hold itself in readiness to act with the Confederate Army upon its advent into the state.

Q How many are in the Saint Louis OAK?.

A--3,000 to 15,000 members

Q-- the state of Missouri?

A--40,000 to 60,000

Q--Was the secret assassination of any U. S. officers, soldiers, or Government employees proposed by any member or members of said OAK?.

A--I have heard it discussed in council and recommended.

Q--Have any contributions been made or proposed by the OAK with the design of assisting the Confederate Army in any way?

A--Yes sir. before my arrest a proposition to raise money to purchase gun caps for the Confederate army.

Q-- Did you ever ship any arms to Northern Missouri?

A-- At various times in the winter and (spring 1863-64).

Q--What amount of ammunition was shipped to North Missouri.

A-- About 400 pistols and 5,000 Cartridges.

Q What are the numbers of members in Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio?

A-- Illinois 100,000 to 120,000. Indiana about 90,000; Ohio about 80,000.. End of Smith testimony.

The above testimonies were very damaging to those who reported that there was nothing to the organization (OAK)

CHAPTER VIII

LOCAL PRO & CON ON WAR

Local weekly publications did not pull their punches on those opposed to their opinions on the war.

The Northern Indianian under the direction of Fleming T. Luse did not miss a chance to blast the Butternuts, Copperheads, and make efforts to associate them with the Democrat party.

We do not have copies of the Kosciusko Democrat newspaper in the county. (Warsaw Union).

However, in the Plymouth Library were copies of the Plymouth Democrat, D.E. Vanvalkenburgh editor. He was an outspoken Democrat and against the War.

His newspaper was against Gov. Morton, Abraham Lincoln and those local politicians who supported the Republicans. At one time he listed the Republican candidates as Abolitionists. He slanted his news stories the same way. He also managed to rise the ire of Gov Mortons people and was arrested. His newspaper apparently suspended publication for a short time.

Between the two publications we probably have a good cross section as to how the local newspapers handled the loyal-disoloyal, etc. during the (1861-1866) period.

I have divided the news items first into general and a second section report on State Legislature. Both newspapers covered both aspects of news in these categories.

NORTHERN INDIANIAN (Warsaw)

Excerpts from news stories (1862-1866). as early as (October 9, 1862) Editor Luse was pegging those opposed to the war:.

Speaking To-day

Edgerton the Butternut candidate for Congress is announced to address his Democratic friends to-day at this place.

If his speech is made for the purpose of obliging votes, he has certainly come beyond his latitude. We want no man to represent us in Congress who declares that this is an unholy and ungodly war waged upon the part of the North.

We want a man whose sympathies are not with the South, and who is in favor of vigorous prosecution of the war until the Union is restored.

(Nov. 26, 1863) There was a loafish looking fellow, with a finery complexion and blossom nose, making a pilgrimage through the northern counties lately organizing lodges of treason.

This is best known as "Knights of the Golden Circle". He was here and was watched. His disreputable business was not then generally known, but it has since been discovered.

He came all the way from Indianapolis, and his movements were so mysterious that our people were more than usually careful of their goods for a few nights. Nothing has been missing, however, and by a little observation since, his mission is made clear.

There are a few men in Warsaw who will some day deny their connection with this traitorous band and find their denial overwhelmed by proof.

(Jan 8, 1863) Report on Democrat Pow wow.

We attended the gathering on Saturday (Jan 3) attracted chiefly by the fact that T. A. Hendricks, who is regarded as the ablest Democrat in the state, was to speak. Aspiring to the United States Senate, we expected to hear the broad view of a statesman.

We were disappointed in these hopes and expectations. None of his hearers were so well pleased as those who have declared that they would fight for the South if they fought at all.

The general drift of the speech showed a severe attack of the disease called by the Warsaw Union. (the Democrat newspaper published in Warsaw at that time) "Nigger" on the brain. The word negro was in every sentence he uttered from beginning to end and without it the speech would have lasted 15 minutes.

The whole tendency of it was to convince the audience that Indiana ought to join Jeff Davis Confederacy and thus form a new Union with the Yankee State out. The war by the government was pronounced an abolition crusade for the benefit of the negro.

The speech was full of denunciation of abolitionists but had not in it a single unkind word for traitors. He declared that all negro's ought to be slaves, because otherwise they would not work.

[The Democrats sweep the General assembly elections winning both house of representative and state Senate. This spelled trouble for Gov Oliver Morton. The new legislature took office Jan 1863]. Reported (Jan 15, 1863(

Democrat Resolution

The Democrat convention which assembled here appointed a committee consisting of T. Davenport, E. V. Long, David Rippey, D. Wray, John Gill, D McKibben who drew up a resolution which was adopted.

The resolution called the attention to the Republican defeat at the polls and called for return to reason. That the President has shown an inability and weakness to be a leader of a great nation. They also condemn the Proclamation Emancipation issued by the president. They also called for the state legislature to make more strict provision to prevent the immigration and settlement of black people within our borders.

On (Feb 5), the newspaper ran a story "The North-Western Confederacy".

[The article stated that the separation of the North-west States from the Union has so long been petted and encouraged by the leaders of the Democrat party and its advantages have been so constantly argued by Democrat papers].

Resistance to the rebellion must stop, of course. That is the first step without which no other can be taken. For so long as the government is able to fight and keeps on fighting, so long there is no certainty that there will be any Confederacy for the North-western state to accede to.

Hence two modes of action have been adopted. 1st to publicly denounce the war and demand an armistice as the Copperhead in our Legislature are doing every day.

2nd to make these demands effective by secretly destroying the army. The demoralization of the army has been systematically pursued by these Copperheads for a year, but only with much success within the past months.

[In the (Feb 12) newspaper the editor goes after the editorial polices of the Warsaw Union,. asking for the editor to answer 10 questions].

Question for the Union

The Editor of the Union who pretends to have such a great love for the constitution as it is and the Union as it was, and who seems so anxious for a compromise with the Rebels, was requested to answer the following questions:

1st Has any citizen who is openly rebelled against the Union any right of protection under the constitution?

2nd Is not slavery assisting them to carry out the rebellion?

3rd Doesn't the government have the right to arrest and remove arms from the Rebels?

4th Do you believe slavery is wrong?

5th If slavery is a sin why should it be done away with?

6th Do you believe our soldiers are fighting a rightness cause?

7th Why is your paper continually finding fault with the Administration?

[I rather doubt that the editor of the Union ever answered any of these questions.
However the Northern Indianian editor was not letting the Copperheads rest].

In the same issue he had the following news story:

The Copperhead Game

The Copperheads are determined that the war against the rebels shall cease, and that their independence shall be substantially if not formally recognized.

They are using all their influence and all their power to prevent further enlistments, even declaring that they will resist by force of arms. They are also to weaken, demoralize and destroy our armies in the field. Fomenting discontent and inducing men to refuse to fight, or desert.

If deserters are caught and arrested Copperhead judges issue a writ of habeas corpus to set them at liberty. The newspaper copied this item from the South Bend Register.

The Corpse of a Soldier

The Rochester Chronicle says that on (Feb. 18) the Copperheads of Newcastle disintered the corpse of F. C. Hamlet, a member of the 29th Indiana Regiment.

The party numbered 30 to 40, armed with rifles, shotguns etc.

They heard the Copperhead lies about the secret distribution of arms,. and believed that the box containing the body of Hamlet was filled with arms.

In spite of the protestations of the wife and brother of the deceased they proceeded with their infamous work.

Having disturbed the coffin, they split off the top with an axe and were confronted by the remains of the deceased. The coffin was then replaced and the grave refilled. Those doing the deed threatened to kill any one who should give the names of those present

The Chronicle gave the names of 15 copperheads that participated in the act.

* * *

[Franklin C Hamlet died (Oct 12, 1862) he was a member of Co D of the 29th He had enrolled (Sep 23)].

In (May 1863) the Editor had an item on the Editor of the Plymouth Democrat.

The Butternut office of the Plymouth Democrat was closed on Tuesday morning last and e editor, Mr. Vanvaulkenburgh, taken to Indianapolis by a squad of soldiers , detailed for that purpose.

The suppression resulted from the comments on Haskell's General order No 9.

_____[Strange as it might seem the Northern Indianian editor approved of this action].

_____In the (June 18) publication the editor outdid himself with adjectives in describing those opposed to the war.

The Great Pow Wow

Wednesday the (10th of June) came and with it came in Warsaw the most motley, non-descript and nondescribable gathering of the gents home that ever assembled together in this county.

There were Butternuts white and Butternuts brown and blue and green old and young, male and female, some on foot, others on horseback and others in wagons, buggies and perhaps carts.

At the hour appointed at the Fairground,. Dan Voorhees was the speaker for the occasion.

After two hours this miserable treason shriek bellowed forth an unremitting stream of abuse of the Administration.

(Aug 8) Fruits of Copperheadism .

The Plymouth Banner says that on Saturday night George Flora's barn in Union township was consumed by fire.

A few days before the fire Flora had assisted the Provost Marshal in arresting a couple of deserters.

They came into town on Saturday last, and after listening to the inflammatory and treasonable speech of Milligan and filling skins with whiskey, went to Floras in the dead of night and set the fire.

[In November) the editor did not let up on blasting the Warsaw Union. This time they picked on the editor for getting an exemption from the draft].

Various stories of the Butternut activities occurred during the following months.

In (Aug 1864) the editor published the following story:.

Some weeks ago we mentioned the fact that there existed in this county an oath bound association in league with the rebels.

We published verbatim one of their oaths in a hand writing well known to be that of a blatant Butternut who would try to make the public believe that any doubt of his being a patriot would do him much wrong.

The existence and purpose of this organization are to be kept a secret from the public even from all Democrats.

It was not a Democrat organization intended to help that party but--a rebel organization aiming to use that party to accomplish its hellish purpose.

The Warsaw Union was silent and had nothing to say to our article.

In order to control as many of the party as possible, this organization first sought to induce as many as possible of the ignorant who can be led by bad men, to purchase deadly weapons.

[He goes on to report that there have been a lot of false charges leveled against the Union League, a patriotic group. Also that suspension of the habeas corpus has also brought some wild tales.. He goes on as follows]:

The Galveston orator to whom we allude is a certain smooth tongued adventurer who has lately come among us and settled at Leesburg as a doctor. His name is Seymour.

He wishes to see civil war in this community and to bring it about would stop at nothing.

The editor issues a warning to those who seek civil strife:

The lawful authorities have for months been fully advised of all the plans and purposes of those societies and are ready whenever they begin their infernal work to crush the affair speedily and effectively.

(Oct. 27, 1864) the patrons of the newspaper were informed that Mr. J. C. Ripey had purchased the newspaper.

(After the 1864) election the newspaper gave an account as follows:

If we would have had a state ticket this fall, the Union party would have swept everything before it by at least 25,000 majority elections results follow:

Jefferson elected the entire Union ticket by a handsome majority.

Huntington has been redeemed--the Union ticket had about 50 majority.

Heavy frauds in Carroll and Clinton have gave those counties to the Copperheads. A regular colonization scheme was adopted and hundreds of voters imported from counties where they had no hope of success.

Warren 500 vote Union majority.

Whitley goes Butternut by a very small majority.

Floyd gave 500 Butternut majority.

Washington gave 500 Butternut majority.

Jay elected entire Union by about 100 majority.

St Joseph Union majority by 600.

Elkhart majority 200.

The (May 25, 1864) newspaper contained some interesting stories. One article was on the Copperheads. It follows:

An insignificant little copperhead in town of more belly than brains was told in a jocular manner last week by a Union man that the Union league of this place now had 200 Enfield rifles in their possession to settle copperheads on short notice.

Of course he, believing the story, went straightway and informed E. Van of this wonderful discovery. The Democratic club in the loft of Empire block are to have a special meeting to take into consideration this matter.

The editor of the newspaper really outdone himself with the other news items. It seem that the Democrat newspaper ran a story on how a threat had been made by soldiers to burn down his printing plant.

The Northern Indiana editor did not leave this lay. He claimed that the equipment of the plant of the Democrat paper was nothing but junk and he was hoping to purchase new equipment if he got burned out.

Even after the war the newspaper did not have a kind word for anyone that they called a Copperhead during the war. Editors published stories against some of those individuals even in (1866) and this practice continued for many years thereafter.

REPORTS FROM PLYMOUTH DEMOCRAT

As might be suspected the Plymouth Democrat gave just the opposite view on the war. The newspaper stoutly maintained there were no secret societies operating in Marshall county.

Reports from the newspaper are given below:

(July 10, 1862) It was announced that the Democrat party would hold a mass meeting in Indianapolis on (July 30).

The (Aug 7) newspaper reported that 50,000 people had adopted a resolution to conserve the Union and end the conflict.

(Sep 4, 1862) the publication carried an account that the Circuit Court had adjourned recently without finding any secret societies in the county and that 10 of the 12 jurors were Republicans.

(Jan 15) a report was carried stating that not a single Abolition candidate had been elected to office in the county. The newspaper the week before the election had named those in favor of freeing the negro.

The (Jan 15) issue also carried full text of a speech given by Gov. Seymour of New York. (to the general assembly of N. Y.)

In the (Jan 22) issue gave a report on the Counties representation to the Indiana General Assembly: Our Representative M. A. O. Packers returned home Saturday Jan 17 and will return to Indianapolis the 19th.

He is chairmen of the Committee on Federal Regulation . He is pointing his gun at the abolitionist and we judge his shots fall with telling effect .

The (22nd issue) carried stories on establishing peace by "The only practicable method of securing an honorable peace and at the same time reunion of the states and reforming of a great nation is through a convention of all the states.

The convention which would abolish laws of the present administration that must be annulled to have a lasting compromise established.

The (29th) publication contended that the President was violating the Constitution by his actions.

(Feb 5 1863) in a meeting held at Bremen in which a large enthusiastic crowd attended. They passed the following resolution: That they were devoted to the Union. That the proclamation emancipating the slaves was unwarranted.

Other resolutions that were passed by the group were:. dividing Virginia was a violation of the constitution.

Kentucky will unite with the Northern states and insists on suspension of hostilities and an armistice to enable the belligerents to agree on terms of peace.

A commission from this state be appointed whose duty it shall be to visit both Federal and Confederate government urging an armistice.

The resolutions went on to say how the President had broken his oath of office.

(Feb 26 1863) newspaper reported on the Democrat meeting as follows: The Democrat club meeting held at Corbin's Hall last Saturday evening was attended by about 300 voters.

This was about one third more than the abolitionists succeeded in drumming up to their grand rally at Woodwar's hall, the meeting was intensely enthusiastic;, the speech of C. H. Reeves received a round of applause.

[The (May 21, 1863) Took on those favoring the war, head on]:

Two or three times a week do the abolitionist of our town assemble in secret conclave in a local hall.

These meetings have significance and demand the attention of all good citizens.

Why , after an order from the Commanding General of the department disapproving of and forbidding the assembling of secret political associations do they with impunity persist in them?

What object have they to accomplish by their worthy unlawful, disgraceful and dangerous acts?.

As a partial defense for their course in this matter the abolitionist relates to a silly lie that organizations of the K.O.C exist here.

Other article: There have probably been 100 names reported from our county to Gen Hascall, as fit subjects for arrest as disloyal names of men and women indiscriminately.

Of all the contemptible disreputable groveling low mean unmanly despicable occupations any human being can engage in, this reporting is the meanest.

Another article: Suppresed--The Columbia City News, the Pulaksi Democrat and South Bend Forum have been suppressed by Gen Hascall during the past week under order no 9.

The Warsaw Union always here regarded as a loyal, able and patriot paper has been ordered to retract an article or suspend publication. It declined restraining and will probably suspend.

(August 13, 1863.) Reports a meeting in which Col L. P. Milligan of Huntington spoke in Marshall county.

The Union League also received a blast from the editor.

LEGISLATIVE REPORT

Both newspaper had reports on the state legislature. These reports are given: The Plymouth Democrat in bold: (Jan 8)

The Plymouth Democrat carried the same officers: Listed by the Republicans.

(Jan 9 Friday:) The Senate received a message from the House, announcing that the House would go into joint convention at 2 .p.m, the Senate concurred.

The abolition members, save three absented themselves, leaving the Senate without a quorum unable to transact any business. One of the three remaining announced it to the intention of his fellows to pursue this course and totally prevent legislation during this session unless the Democrat members would indicate their purpose action relative to the militia and appropriation bills. The Democrats rejected stipulations put on by the Republicans in the Senate on the militia and appropriation bills.

In the House a resolution was offered by Mr Givens to denounce and condemn the illegal arrests made in the state of Indiana

On Saturday in the house Mr Packard from the Select Committee appointed to wait on the Governor and inform him of the readiness of the House to hear his message reported that the duties enjoined had been performed and that his excellency declined to appear in person before the two Houses in joint convention as the constitution of the State provides.

Mr. Packer moved that the House respectfully decline to receive the message of his executive private secretary

[Below in regular type is report from the Warsaw paper]:

(Jan 9) Arrived in Indianapolis Tuesday. In the Senate: Paris C Dunning was chosen President, his address was on patriotic theme.

A resolution was offered to the effect that this legislature will vote for no man for office who is not in favor of prosecution of the war and who is not unalterably opposed to the secession of any state. it was referred to the Committee upon Federal Regulations.

In the House Samuel Buskirk of Monroe Co was chosen speaker. He received 57 votes, Republican M Crawford 39; Clerk Democrat Mr Whitley 59 votes Republican Mr Crawford 39; Assistant clerk Davis 59 of Fulton co and Ben Burns of Rush Co Door keeper. Mr Musselman 38 of Kosciusko County was voted Republican Assistant Clerk

The speaker on taking the chair delivered a speech and by some awkward slip of the tongue came near speaking the truth. He alluded to himself and his Democrat brethren as Representatives of the Sovereign people. He attempted to correct himself but it failed.

An attempt to invite some clergyman to open with a prayer at the joint session to hear the governors message also failed. .

This failed because one half of the committee wanted Bishop Ames to perform the service and the other half desired nobody in particular but swore they would not listen to an abolition prayer in the Hall of Representatives.

A resolution offered by a Union member, which provided that the members of this legislature will vote for no man for office who is not in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war was referred by a party vote to the committee on Federal Relations

A number of resolutions attacking the state and federal governments and one, of which spoke of the presidents infamous abolition proclamation, was introduced by our bright brethren of the majority which kept the assembly in constant delight.

The Republican senators returned to their seats and joint convention for the election of U.S. Senators was held. T. A Hendricks long term and David Turpie short term. Both were Democrats and Hendricks won by a majority of 24 votes and Turpin 23.

(Jan 14 Wednesday) Republican Senators return.

(Jan 15th) **John Ferris introduced the following Resolution: In effect it said congress violated the constitution by creating the State of West Virginia.**

Resolution: We are in favor of the assembling of a national convention of all states at Louisville.

Resolution: We recommend a cessation of hostilities so a national convention could be held.

Resolution: That the government had no constitutional right to tax the people of the state to raise money with which to buy slaves of the Southern states. .

Mr. Neyse moved to table the resolutions.

Mr. Atkinson moved an amendment that the vote be taken in each resolution separately. He was in favor of the first and objected to the others.

The resolutions were referred to the Committee on Federal Regulations; ayes 61 nays 30.

(Jan 24) The committees reported on several resolutions referred to them.

House-- Nothing in the House of any importance beyond

the report of Judicial committee against the soldiers to vote absent from home.

92 bills have been introduced.

In one resolution the House proposed to give moneys to sick and wounded soldiers or relatives. This was adopted if the money was collected legally.

Another Resolution: That the member of this General Assembly be requested to visit the Legislature of Kentucky and have general expression on the subject of the war.

Mr Lane moved to table the resolution until they were invited.

Mr Lasell offered the following that the members visit the Kentucky legislature on the 18th approximately

(Jan 31 Saturday) I cannot yet report any legislative action of any importance. I do not mean to say that we are wasting the peoples money doing nothing.

Numerous bills have been introduced and many of these have had their second reading

(On Wednesday 28th) a resolution was introduced into the House requesting (that's a word used by the author of the resolution) our legislature to visit Louisville, Ky and invite the legislators of Kentucky, Illinois and Ohio to meet us there.

I need hardly tell you that it is a Democrat measure and that every Union member voted against everything of the kind.

The resolution and various amendments that were offered were made the special order of Wednesday afternoon and were placed in the hands of a select committee.

I have strong hope that if the thing does pass the House, that it will be defeated in the Senate. On (Jan 27,Tuesday) two remarkable resolutions were introduced into the House.

One by Mr. Puett (Demo) denouncing the Morrill tariff as unjust to the agricultural interest of the West and the other by Mr. Roberts (Dem) protesting against the construction of the Illinois ship canal and the enlargement of the Erie canal in New York.

Both of these would restrict our trade with the east,. looked like an attempt to force us to trade with the southern states.

Both of the resolutions have been referred to committees and when they come back to the House they will pass, but I think that is all the good they will ever do the Democracy.

On the same day the resolution of Mr Packard (Dem) providing for the registry of deceased soldiers, was read a second time and elicited quite an animated debate.

The resolutions create a committee of five who shall have the same per diem and mileage as membership of the Legislature ($3 per day and 12 cents per mile). The plan is to write a biographical memorial of every deceased Indian soldier and preserve the same in service volumes to be deposited in the state Library.

The adjutant General of the state reported he has all the information and all he needs are blanks to put the information on. Thus no traveling needed.

The proposal above was referred and when it comes back will be killed dead as mice.

(On Wednesday 28th) a resolution was offered to have 15,000 copies of the Governor's annual message printed for circulation among the people but the Democrats voted it down.

Speaker Buskirk appointed committees. Each committee consists of eleven members four which are Union men. Never has the Speaker shown his party spirit more than in the appointment of these committees.

I will not particularize but will venture to say that any impartial man who will examine the Congressional committee will pronounce it an outrage upon the minority of the House.

A joint resolution endeavoring the expulsion of James Bright from the U.S. Senate was defeated by a party vote.

(Friday Jan 30) Mr. Corbin of Marshall rose to a question of privilege and denounced a statement in the Indianapolis Journal that he had been in secret caucus with Rebel prisoner. He labeled this a willful falsehood.

The House concurrent resolutions on the Kentucky resolutions were referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

House-Morning session spent chiefly on the expulsion of the Doorkeeper Bending Barns due to his alleged incompetences.

He defended himself and the item was referred to a select committee of five members.

In a Sunday session some bills were introduced.

In the afternoon a discussion was held on whether the chair ruled that a 2/3 of members must agree to suspend the rules. He was backed up by remaining members. No business was transacted due to committee meetings.

The Senate was in session (Sat Jan 31st morning) but its proceedings were uninteresting.

Since then that body has had no quorum until to-day. The house met (Monday Feb 2) afternoon but adjourned for want of a quorum. (the explanation on the absence of legislature was that many went home to see their family and a couple committee were absent apparently visiting various area)

(On Tuesday (Feb 3) Mr Gregory (R) introduced a concurrent resolution endorsing the order of Col Carrington of Feb 3 in regard to desertion. Mr Buskirk (D) made a fine Union speech with a proviso.

He trusted the resolution would pass, but favored an amendment that the citizens arrested in Morgan county should not be held as prisoners of war, but should be tried by the civil authorities.

Mr Gregory did accepted the amendment and so for all was right; but Mr. Buskirk could not close his remarks without telling us that if the Morgan county rebels were denied such trials and were held by the military authorities there will be trouble in the state of Indiana.

The same game as this game of telling us that a secret and mysterious power exists somewhere in the state which will hold the government accountable for its acts, has been played over and over again since the Legislature met.

We are continually told that if the government does so and so all will be right, peace shall continue to prevail but if some things are done and other things are not done, an appeal will be made not to the ballot box, but to the same unnamed power and blood shed anarchy and desolation shall be the consequence.

These intimations are all a waste of words and barren of any result but feeling of disgust toward those who utter them.

Mr Gregory's resolution, however, was discussed by both parties in a friendly spirit . The resolution as amended was referred for future action and will undoubtedly pass.

(Feb 4) A proposition was introduced into the House inquiring into the expediency of investing the military affairs and power of the state with the Governor and state officers

As we understand the proposition it is not intended to deprive the Governor of any constitutional authority as Commander in Chief of the militia. But is a measure to relieve him of the responsibility of setting alone in the

important contingencies which may arise in present critical conditions.

Today (Friday Feb 6) the Judiciary Committee (a majority of whom are Democrats) reported that it is expedient to so amend the Constitution that soldiers can vote.

The resolution upon which this report was founded and which favor a constitutional amendment, was laid upon the table by a vote of 42 against 33. The yeses were all Democrats but two and the nays all Union but three.

The soldiers will know their friends.

In the afternoon the House was in a working mood. Many bills were referred and several passed.

Among those passed is one to keep judgments alive, after five years, where the party chose to issue execution after execution; and one to raise the printer's fee for advertising from 50c to $1.

Tonight there was another immense Union meeting at the Masonic hall

(Feb 6) Senate bills were introduced up to 101

House: The afternoon was taken up with a resolution by Mr Brown, of Jackson; relative to charges made by Mr Brasham of Jefferson against members saying that some of them Democrats were in communication with traitors. Mr Browns resolution passed and Mr. Branham will be held to answer.

(Feb 7) Bills were passed .

House: Mr. Hannas resolution relative to discrimination in the matter of the draft in favor of Massachusetts and against Indiana failed due to lack of a majority . Mr. Hanna's bill providing for an executive council was referred to the Judiciary committee (the bill taking away Morton's power over military).

(March 6) You will be a little surprised to receive a communication from me dated from the city of Madison. In my last letter I think I informed you that we, the Union members of the House, bolted on last Wednesday in order to break the quorum,. and thus prevent the enactment of Mr. Hanna's infamous Military Bill.

We held two sessions in a hall in Indianapolis but we decided it would be almost impossible to keep our group together in the city. Thirty three members with one dissenting voice, Dr Griffith of Lagrange. We decided to take an excursion train to Madison.

They informed us on Monday a resolution to send the Sergeant at Arms after us lost by a vote of 17 against 35.

An angry debate occurred. Hanna was purple with range, Niblack swore he would see us in most torrid place; Packard fairly shook the house, Brown spoke , he had not principle enough to get mad. Lasselle was opposed to hasty action.

By the time you receive this letter the House will have adjourned.

ANGRY Plymouth EDITOR

The constitutional period for enacting laws during the preset session expired on Saturday March 7.

One week ago last Wednesday the Republican members of the house absented themselves from their seats and left the city.

There is no apology for this revolutionary conduct of the Republican minority; its action is a disrespect to the state and a reproach upon our government

The excuse for bolting was to defeat the military bill. If that measure was constitutional the majority had a right to pass it.

If it was not the law would be inoperative. But the Republican members had not even this apology for breaking a quorum. The bill had not passed the house and if it had they were advised that it could not pass in the Senate.

Even if it had become law it was not of sufficient importance to justify the defection of necessary legislation.

All the Democrats wanted was that the public arms should not be placed by the governor in the hands of his partisan friends exclusively.

_[Newspaper carried the accounts most were unsigned they probably thought everyone knew who their General Assembly members were]

CHAPTER IX

CANADIAN CONNECTIONS

In the early part of the Civil War a Canadian offered to open a Union recruiting office in Montreal. This was turned down by Secretary of War Simon Cameron.

Deserters and Draft dodgers used Canada for a sanctuary. Later it was used as a base to plot raids against northern cities

NO TO CANADIAN

A directive was issued by the Assistant Adjutant General on (Dec 17) instructing the mustering office in Detroit the following: I direct you not to muster into service any recruits who may have been imported from Canada. All recruits must be enlisted within the limits of the U.S. (S3p750)

ORGANIZE

Confederate President Jefferson Davis (in April 1864) decided it was time to place an organization in Canada.

(On April 7,) he sent a dispatch to Jacob Thompson in Mississippi asking him to accept service abroad for the next six months (S4p278) .

Thompson accepted and (on the 27th) was directed to proceed at once to Canada. Verbal orders were given, this resulted in it being very difficult to trace Confederate activities in Canada.

Earlier J.P. Holcome had been dispatched to Canada to find any Confederate soldiers who had escaped from northern prisons. He was to persuade these men to return South to fight.

He sent the following dispatch to Clifton House, Niagara, Falls, Canada West. dated (Aug 11, 1864.)

I feel the more confidence in my judgment from the fact that it has the concurrence of Messrs Clay and Thompson. I have availed myself of the interim of every opportunity to co-operate with those gentlemen. (S4 P 583-85).

Clay sent the following dispatch to J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of State for the confederates. In this dispatch he takes up the peace move by Horace Greeley, New York Editor, who tried to arrange peace between the Union and Confederate.

Thompson and his assistants made plans to conduct operations against some of the states bordering Canada.

(On Sep 20) the fruits of their labors were evident when two steamers, Parsons and Island Queen, near Bass Island a short distance from Sandusky, O. were captured. (S1V39p428)

The capture of the two steamers started a lot of communication with Washington. Federal officials had determined that an effort would be made to free confederate prisoners on an Island in Lake Erie. (S1V39P426)

The rebels made the attack on (Sep 20) and were beaten off. The Johnson Island commander reported that the Island Queen steamer had been set adrift after the aborted attack. (S1V39P427)

(On the 22nd) J. Thompson and C. C. Clay wrote to the commander of the Johnson Island.

They were protesting the commander's plans to try as a spy Capt Charles Cole who had escaped from a Union prisoner of war camp. Cole was arrested on Johnson island. Both Thompson and Clay stated if Cole was tried as a spy the Confederate states would adopt proper measurers of retaliation (S1V39 P864-65)

(Oct 30,) R. K. Kimball, U. S. Consular agent at Toronto, Canada, wrote to Brig Gen J. B. Fry in Buffalo warning him of a problem: Quote:

I have received information that a party of Southern rebels and sympathizers left here yesterday to be joined by others in all about 100 men with intention of going to Buffalo and Detroit for purpose of burning and committing other depredations.

Two of those who left Toronto had commissions from the Rebel government. (S1V39P551).

Apparently the rebels were shipping arms in (November 1864) into Canada in preparation for some military action against the north.

The U. S. Counselor in Toronto informed Major General Hooker in Detroit of two barrels marked potato's that were actual arms. The barrels were to go onto a steamer going to Michigan.

A warning was issued on a possible raid on Camp Douglas in Chicago. The Sons of Liberty were credit with their proposal acting in conjunction with the Canadian planner, Thompson. Arrested in the United States were some of the Sons of Liberty. (S1V45P1076-81)

(Nov 6,) Warnings were issued that the Georgian was being armed to taken on the steamer Michigan. The report stated that the ship Georgian was purchased from a Canadian owner and was being armed. This, tied in with Copperheads planned attacks on Camp Douglas.

In Chicago arrests were made and in the arrest 1,000 to 2,000 arms were found. The attack was to be held on Election night. (S1D45P 676-77 694-95)

(In December) a flood of rumors were being taken seriously. B. H Hill reported on (Dec 3), that information had been uncovered where the Rebels were planning a campaign.

According to the reports extensive preparations were being made in Canada for burning not only cities on the lakes but others.

The warning also reported that Greek fire was being prepared in Windsor, Buffalo, Cleveland and this city (referring to Detroit). (S1V45P68,69,82,83)

The Greek fire was used in New York, also raids were make from Canada.

[The following information is gained from the Book: "Confederate Operations in Canada and the North" by Oscar Kitchen].

The book reviews the various events above, also throws some light on the operation in passage below.

A question is asked what did Lee have in mind and wished to have funds to enable him to carry this out?

"What enterprise did Brigadier General Edwin Gray Lee have in view to which the retiring commissioner was opposed. In later years this question might have been answered. Rev Edmond Lee, owner of General Lee's diary reported that, according to the diary, an attack was planned on Elmira, New York to free confederate soldiers who would raid though the east. One of those sent to spy on the camp was John Surratt.

According to William Cleary, secretary of the Confederate Commission in Canada, the rebels had set aside $1,000,000 for the Canadian operations.

(In May) Thompson deposited a portion of his fund in a bank in Ontario.

Thompson was replaced (Feb 1865) by a Lee. Thompson turned over to Lee $20,000 of the $1,000,000 set aside for Canadian operations.

VALLANDIGHAM IN CANADA

What impact did Clement Vallandigham have on the Canadian operation?

As far as the Rebels were concerned it would be questionable if he had any. He did contact and confer with those of the Secret Orders who came to Canada to visit him. But as far as his cooperating with the rebel Commission there

is little evidence that he had anything to do with those planned raids.

He might have acted as a conduct between the Secret Orders in Illinois and Indiana and the Canadian Confederate Commissioners.

There is no way to know what connection he had with the Confederate authorities in Canada or Richmond because there are no records.

Vallandigham was not accepted with open arms when he was exiled from the United States. Here is how his trouble started.

(On May 1, 1863) he made a speech at Mount Vernon, Ohio when he uttered some statements against the governmental policy.

He was arrested on (May 5) and tried by a military commission and was found guilty on (May 11). The Commission sentenced him to be confined on a ship in Boston Harbor.

President Lincoln about the (19th) decided to exile him. He was sent south and was turned over to Confederates on (May 25).

He contended that he was still a loyal citizen of the U.S. So the Confederates placed him in custody and transferred him to a port where they were holding persons to be exchanged.

He left the port on (July 15 1863). He was located in Windsor in (Aug 1863). Slipped back into the United States in (1864) and he was a delegate to the Democrat national Convention held in Chicago (in August).

CONCLUSION

How effective was the Canadian operation for the Confederacy?. There is little doubt that the Union had to divert soldiers from their forces in the east to help protect the area from raids.

In addition it was a haven for deserters and for those who wished to avoid the draft. It also gave the Confederates a base to operate spies in the Midwest..

The mystery was how the nearly a million dollars was spent. Was some of it used to plot and murder Lincoln?. How much of the operation did President Davis know about?. By the number of official records communications made by those in Canada, it would seem that Davis was completely informed on all aspects of the Canadian operation. In other words he might have known of the plots involving President Lincoln's assassination .

Its doubtful that Vallandigham knew any thing about the Lincoln plots. He would have left Canada before these were in any form.

CHAPTER X

ARREST AND CHARGES

Governor Oliver Morton decided (in August 1864) that he had enough evidence to charge his political enemies with treason.

So midnight or early morning raids were carried out and six persons were arrested.

The Chairman of the Democrat Central Committee and publisher of an Indianapolis newspaper was one of those arrested. However he was not charged but did testify concerning the secret societies in Indiana. .

In the net was Andrew Humphreys, former state legislator, Horace Heffren, Stephen Horsey, Lambdin Milligan, Huntington attorney, and Harrison Dodd. Others named were charged with being members of a secret society were William Bowles , Joseph Bullitt. One of the defendants, Dodd, escaped in the middle of the trial and was sentenced in his absence.

A military commission tried the accused. They were charged with 5 specifications involving 16 different incidents.

Actions of the accused brought these charges that occurred from {Nov 1, 1863 to Oct 1, 1864),(In May) five charges resulted from activities, on the (16) and in (July 5) on acts that occurred on the (20th.)

CHARGES

The charges were drawn up as follows:

I: Conspiracy, specifications (4)

II: Affording aid and comfort to rebels. Spec (3)

III: Inciting insurrection. Spec (2)

IV Disloyal practice. Spec (5)

V: Violation of the laws of War. Spec (2).

Below is a breakdown of each charge and specification: Involving those above:

CHARGE I (Spec 1 (May 16, 1864) Above conspired against the government and duly constituted authorities of the U.S. did join themselves to and secretly organize and disseminate a secret unlawful society or Order known as the Order of American Knights (OAK) or Order of the Sons of Liberty,(OSL).

Both a civil and military organization and jurisdiction for the purpose of overthrowing the government

Spec (2) (Feb 22, 1864) Above men to adopt and impart together the creed or ritual of a secret unlawful society or order known as the Order of American Knights (OAK) or Order of the Sons of Liberty (OSL)'

The Orders denied the authority of the US to coerce to submission certain rebellious citizens of said US designed thereby to lessen the power and prevent the increase of the armies of the United state.

Spec (3) (October 1, 1864) The above did conspire to overthrow and render powerless the Government of the US and did in pursuant of said combination agreement and conspiracy form and organize a certain unlawful secret society or Order known as OAK or OSL.

Spec (4) (July 20, 1864), These men above at that time holding military positions and ranks in certain secret unlawful society or organization, known as the OAK or OSL. to seize by force the US. and State arms depot at Indianapolis, Columbus, Ohio and Springfield Ill. to release by force the rebel prisoners held by the U.S.

CHARGE II: Spec :(1) (May 16, 1864). Being members of a certain secret unlawful society or Order known as OAK or OSL as members of the secret society unlawfully Order did communicate with the enemies of the U.S.

Spec (2) (July 20, 1864). The above unlawfully selected courier or runners to go upon short notice and for the purpose of assisting those in rebellion against the U .S.

Spec (3) (July 20 1864). The afore said did join themselves to a certain unlawful secret society or Order (gives order names) for the overthrow of the government of the US.

CHARGE III Spec (1) (July 20 1864). The above did during the time of war between the US and armed enemies of US and of rebellion against its Government organize and attempt to arm and did arm a portion of the citizens of the US. through unlawful secret societies (OAK or OSL); this occurred near Indianapolis.

Spec (2) (Feb 16, 1864). Above did by public address by secret circulars and communications and by other means endeavor to and did so arouse sentiments of hostilities to the government and attempt to induce the people to revolt.

CHARGE IV Spec (1) (July 1 1864). The above did counsel and advise citizens of and owning allegiance and military service to the US to disregard the authority of the US and to resist a call or draft.

Spec (2) (Nov 1 , 1863) Above did disregard the authority of the US and to resist a call or draft designed to increase the army.

Spec (3) (May 16, 1864). This again dealt with resisting the draft.

Spec (4) (Aug 1 , 1864) This one dealt with the various secret societies arming its members.

Spec (5) (Feb 16, 1864). This charged that the above did accept and hold offices of the military forces of the State of Indiana in certain unlawful secret societies named the OAK and OSL.

CHARGE V Spec (1) (May 16). The above violated their allegiance and did as citizens of said government attempt to introduce said enemies of the US into loyal states of said US, thereby to overthrow and destroy the authority of the US.

Spec (2) (May 16). Above did unlawfully organize a secret society OAK or OSL its purpose the same general object and design as the said enemies of the US and with the intent to aid and ensure the success of said enemies.

TRIALS FOR TREASON

[Benn Pitman recorded the trials for treason (Sep 19,- November 1864). His information is a part of this chapter. Quotes from his book are listed as (BP).]

The Military Commission held its first meeting (Sep 19, 1864) in the United State Court room in Indianapolis. (BP)

Members of the Commission were: Brigadier General Silas Cosgrove; Colonels: William McLean 43rd; John T Wilder 17th; Thomas Lucas 16th; Charles Murray 80th; Benjamin Spooner 83rd; Richard De Hart 128; (BP)

Judge Advocate Major Henry Burnett. J. W. Gordon, M.M. Ray were consul for the defendants. (BP)

[The Commission heard arguments why they did not have authority to try the defendants. Various pages were taken with this argument.

A part of the testimony given by the witnesses for the federal government is listed below: Answers are in bold type]:

STIDGER Felix:

Q Did you learn of the existence of any order?

A Yes, sir I did.

Q State what was your next step in obtaining information upon the subject?

A I had an interview with Dr. Bowles at his house at French Lick Springs. That was about the (20th of May 1864), I think. For I arrived there on the 9th.____[Stidger then related about a conversation with Dodd about the planned putting out of the way a government detective named Coffin]

Q What do you mean putting out of the way?

A I understood he was to be murdered. I was informed by Mr. Dodd.

[He then discussed meetings held by the Order and especially a meeting of (June 14, 1864)].

Q State as nearly as you can what took place at that meeting?

A Mr Dodd opened the morning session of the meeting by remarking that they wanted to define the policies of the Order. An Education committee was appointed by the group. Also discussed was forming a military organization, and the case of Coffin was brought up..

Plans were made to put Coffin out of the way at a meeting to be held the next day in Hamilton, Ohio,

In the afternoon session it was decided a military organization would be formed and as quickly as possible.

[Stidger then was questioned about some of the plans of the order]

Q What was Bowles doing at Louisville?

A He was superintending the Greek fire arrangements. The Greek fire as it was called, was invented by a man named R. C. Bocking. The purpose of it was to destroy government property.

Q Did Bowles inform you that any government stores had been destroyed by this invention:

A He said that those two boats that were destroyed at the wharf at Louisville were burned by this Greek fire. It had been used before by the Sons of Liberty.

[According to Stidger various plots were being hatched by the Secret Societies also he related the Chicago agreement]:

Q State what Dodd told you was the plan agreed on at Chicago

A Dodd said they had agreed to seize the camps of Rebel prisoners here (Indianapolis)--Camp Morton; Chase in Ohio; Douglas at Chicago and the depot of Prisoners at Johnson's Island. Also arsenals at Springfield, Ill; and Chicago.

Q Was there any difference of opinion at Chicago as to the course to be taken?

A It was reported that letters were received from Harrison, Milligan, Humphreys and Walker

that indicated the planned take over was to go ahead at the time designated to release and arm the prisoners and members of the Order and unite at Louisville.

Q Did you know of Dodd, or any member of the Order taking steps to communicate to Rebels anything about the Order's plans.

A I know of members of the Order doing so. A Rebel colonel was given the secrets of the Order. Judge Bullitt admitted to me that he had tried to have a conference with Col Jesse. (a Rebel escaped prisoner)

[Stidger discussed various signs and activities of the order he was also grilled by defense attorneys (BP) This concluded this testimony.]

KIRKPATRICK Joseph was an arms dealer and he resided in New York. He was questioned about arms purchases made by the Order: .

Q Have you dealt in arms for the past three years?

A I sold 290 pistols to a party purporting to be Mr Parsons of Indianapolis, however he said his name was L. Harris. Q Did you make any contract to sell him other arms?

A Yes sir 2,500 revolvers.

Q Did you make any contract to sell him other arms?

A Yes, 135,000 pistol cartridges. All shipments were in boxes.

Q How were the boxes marked?

A I had nothing to do with marking the boxes, Harris marked them himself in my presence as being shipped to a J. J. Parsons, Indianapolis. He also spoke of the shipment of arms to California and Mexico.

Q How many rounds of ammunitions were purchased? **A 35,000 rounds to fit the above pistols. The ammunition was shipped with the pistols.**

CLAYTON W. M. testified that he became a member of the Order of American Knights (July 1, 1863). [He gave the oath that was required to belong to the Order. also the general principle and aims of the organization.

He told the commission that in the first place it was organized for the purpose of uniting the Democratic party together shoulder to shoulder so they might defeat the other party if possible.

He stated that it was first a political organization. Afterward members were informed by the officers that it was a military

organization. . The questioning then turned to the military.]:

Q Was there any indication of overthrowing the government by force?

A I would rather consider it was going that way.

Q Did the Secret Society have any drilling?

A Yes sir

Q How many times in a month did they drill?

A Sometimes once, sometimes twice a month.

TRATNER Wesley:___[his testimony was on the most part dealing with acts if taken prisoner of the Confederates (they or their property were not to be harmed) and also a raid by Morgan. He also told about developing plans to do away with Gov Oliver Morton].

ROBERTSON Elliot: [He testified that he understood that the Order was for military purposes. He said old Order was changed to American Knights about (Sep 1863)].

ZUMBO Henry A doctor, who resided in Huntington county testified of remarks made by Milligan also the military makeup of the local force.

HEFFREN Horace: [In addition to previous statements made by Heffren, discussed money. He stated that money had come from the capture of a U. S. Paymaster on Red River in the west. The money was divided and was received by various commanders.]

WILSON James, [For those seeking more information on the Order of American Knights and Sons of Liberty it will give an answer as to the various passwords and a brief review of the hearings by the commission],

NEWSPAPER COMMENTS

Two articles appeared in the Northern Indianian on testimony of witness before the Military commission. The Newspaper accounts appeared on (Nov 3, and 10th)

Joseph J. Bingham, editor of the State Sentinel . chairman of the Democrat state Committee, Third Degree member and Grand Commander of the Sons of Liberty testified before the Military Commission today (Oct. 28 1864) as follows:

I joined the American Knights in (October or November 1863) at Military Hall then leased to the Democrat club of this city, and was initiated by then Harrison Dodd, M. Jacobs, Dr Johnson Vandergrift and others were present.

In August or September he was introduced to A. C. Wright by Dodd, Wright gave his history, and claimed to have found the papers belonging to Genera Gains of New Orleans, a record of a secret society which existed during the Revolutionary War.

That General Lee was president and Madison, Jefferson and Washington were members.

Wright designed to establish a similar order and had come to this state for that purpose. He said it existed in Missouri, Illinois, and the Central American states and was to extend all over the world.

He wanted Bingham to help found it here. Bingham declined because he was opposed to secret societies.

[Bingham then related activities of Dodd and others].

He asked other leading Democrats to join. Most of them declined. It was understood Dodd was a member: Dodd urged Bingham to join, said it was political and educationally equivalent to a State University; to include a second political doctrine and a newspaper were to be started.

Dodd said that he could not even tell the names of the members of the Order for the obligation bound him to such secrecy.

He offered to put Bingham through informally. Bingham saw seeds of discord for the party if he did not join and unite its different elements against the Lincoln and Morton administrations..

Dodd said they were making plans to release the Rebel prisoners at Johnson's Island and Camp Chasse, Ohio, Camp Morton, Indiana, Camp Douglas, Illinois and then release those at Rock Island at the same time. They were to all join at Louisville and seize the government stores and property.

Bingham was astonished. Dodd wanted a mass meeting called under pretense of opposing the draft and informing the Chicago delegates;, Bingham refused.

Dodd wanted him to call a Congressional convention to nominate a congressman as a cover for his revolt; Bingham refused.

Dodd went to McDonald to seek his influence on Bingham to call the convention. Bingham thought he ought to reveal the plot. He found out

that McDonald knew nothing about the plot. He told McDonald on (4th of August) of Dodds plans.

The people were alarmed in the Indiana counties of Washington, Harrison and Floyd counties with an idea that a revolution was in progress. They were selling their crops they thought greenbacks safe.

Kerr's information involved Dr Athlon then Secretary of State (successor to the governor) It was understood that Morton was to be put out of the way. Dr Alton denied any knowledge of the plot.

In a committee meeting Conklin the Major General was asked for a report. He reported that he had not drilled anybody and had nobody to drill. This was the first time some of the members had heard about the military part of the secret Order.

Heffren was present at (February) council. Bingham came to his office and told about the Order. Bingham said that he thought no good would come from the Order and it was a humbug.

In the (Feb 16) meeting Dr Bryant, Mr Blake, Mr Cushman, Squire McBride were present also Heffren Caldwell and others were there.

Kerr said the revolution must be stopped. Dodd and John Walker were called on; they did not then acknowledge anything about it at first.

Kerr told Bingham that if they would not abandon the plan it was his duty to inform the authorities and have the planners arrested.

Dodd and Walker maintained that a forcible revolution was the only way to save the state.

Bingham didn't inform the authorities because he thought they already knew of it.

Bingham also thought informing the authorities would damage the Democrat party in the election.

Dodd and Walker were in Indianapolis for 10 days and were informed they would be arrested.

Dodd said revolution had been determined. Dodd also told of a council of 16 meeting in Chicago. He said that the council consisted of four members each from states of Indiana, Missouri,, Illinois and Kentucky.

News Stories of (Nov 4)

The military commission now trying Bowles, Milligan and others finished the examination of H. L. Zamro today and the direct examination of Horace Heffren, one of the accused who took the stand as a witness.

HEFFREN TESTIFIES

Mr. Heffrin did not know until he was called by the Judge Advocate that he would be a witness.

His testimony is startling and direct, in regard to the conspiracy.

He joined the Order of American Knights in (Nov 1863) at his office in Salem. Was elected Grand Senior, attended the state council on (Feb 17, 1864).

Dr Bowles and Mr. Milligan were present. Humphreys and Horsey were on a committee appointed to consider a newspaper also to find out whether any persons initiated had revealed any secrets of the Order.

Grand Commander Dodd had preferred charges against Mr Walott of Sullivan county, as chairman of the committee.

Heffren reported after a full investigation that there was no evidence to sustain the charge, the penalty for revealing any information on the Order was death.

Officers were elected: Dodd,Grand Commander, Milligan, Walter Humphreys and Major McGrain of Harrison county, Major Generals.

The districts were informed and Bowles elected in McGrain's place. McGrain never attended the meeting of State Council on June 14.

The Order was composed entirely of Democrats. He never knew a member who was not a Democrat and no one of another party could have got in unless he professed to be a Democrat; that was a sine qua non.

There were two organizations in the Order, the civil and military, one within the other.

[Heffren tried to justify the need for a military force.]

The civil organization which was composed of the mass of the members, he considered purely political, to bring out a full Democrat vote and ensure party success.

It was understood that the Republican administration would not allow the Democrats a fair vote and they had determined to have fair vote or fight.

The military organization was confined to a committee of the Order unknown to him .

The purpose of that organization was to separate the Northwest, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Kentucky from the eastern states to form a northwest confederation or join the South.

This was not communicated to the members of the civil organization.

Heffren said he would not have known about it except for his position as Deputy Grand Commander.

The military plan was probably known to the leaders and to the committee of 13 who were known only to the Grand Commander and themselves.

They expected to control the civil organization by their influence. Dodd was a military leader but Dr Bowles was above him.

The military officers were above the civil and control indirectly the arming of the Order and its military movements.

He learned this from James Wilson, Adjutant General on Bowles staff. From him he got all his information about the Order, after his return from French Lick spring where Bowles lives.

He had never understood that the rank and file of the members of the Order were to be armed at his expense but at their own.

Those under the control of the military officers were to be armed at the expense of the Order.

The military chiefs detailed men to go into the various townships and pick out a certain number to be armed.

Reports of arms and ammunition on hand were taken by these men and rerouted to the branch temples.

This information was then sent in secret cipher to the county temples and state council.

MONEY TRAIL

[One of the most controversial information was on money. In one account the money came from a Red River robbery (in the west); another it came from Canada. Heffren in his statement below was using information that he had heard not necessarily being a part of].

Dr Wilson, a member of the Order, on his return from Bowles pulled out a roll of money of one thousand dollars. .

He said he received this from Bowles and which was to be used to purchase arms; said there was plenty more where that came from.

He said half a million dollars had been sent to Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky and other states by the rebel agents in Canada to procure arms for the Order in these Western states. Dodd and Walker had received $100,000 and Bowles had received the money for his part of the state.

It was to be expended for arms and ammunition for the military part of the American Knights or Sons of Liberty. He learned this from Wilson in (June 1864). about the time the Grand Council met in Indianapolis

This revolution was to be accomplished by the military part of the Order and as many others as they could bring in under the excitement of the movement.

(Aug 16) He learned that there was to be an uprising and the rebel prisoners were to be released in Ohio and Illinois, the arsenals in these states seized and the prisoners armed with the arms.

Morton was to be taken and held as a hostage to exchange for those Rebel conspirators who might be taken prisoners in this uprising.

Dr Athon was to be Governor by virtue of the state law which provided that the Secretary of State shall be Governor in case of vacancy. Athon was to call out the militia and the Order was to have things their own way.

This ended Heffrens' testimony before the commission

The introducing of Heffren as a witness took the conspirators entirely by surprise. His testimony was very damaging to the defendants.

CHAPTER XI

GUILTY AND SENTENCES

Military courts do not dally around, they issue verdicts and sentences very promptly.

Official records list the trials were held starting (September 18) and trials continued to (mid November).

One of the conspirators, Horace Heffren, turned states evidence and testified against his fellow members of the secret Orders. For his coming forward with information he was not charged with any crime. (Treason Trials) .

I have broken down the verdicts by each person involved and the sentence they received:

HUMPHREY Andrew pled not guilty but the commission found him guilty of charges I (conspiracy against the government); II (Affording aid and comfort to the enemy) III(Inciting insurrection);IV Disloyal practices).

On V (Violations of the laws of war) he was found not guilty in committing any overt acts which were calculated to incite an insurrection or aid the conspiracy.

SENTENCE: To be confined at hard labor during the war at such place as the proper authorities shall designate.

In view of his good character and lengthy confinement Andrew Humphreys was discharged upon the following conditions:

That he be given his parole of honor; that he will confine himself within the limits of Wright and Stockton townships in Green county during the term of the present war. That he will take no part, directly or indirectly, against the prosecution of the present war. If he breaches these instructions the parole will be suspended and he will serve the time. (OFR S2V8 p 11-543-47)

HORSEY Stephen he pled not guilty but was found guilty, on all charges except specific in charge IV,

SENTENCE: To be hanged by the neck until he is dead at such time and place as designated by the commanding general. Two thirds of the commission concurred in the decision.

Horsey was scheduled to be hanged (Friday 19 of May 1865) between the hours of 12 noon and 3 p.m. on the parade ground between Camp Morton and Burnside Parks in Indianapolis. (p543)

BOWLES William A, **MILLIGAN** Lambdin, all pled not guilty but all were found guilty and sentenced as follows:

Bowles: to be hanged (Friday 19th May 1865), Milligan to be hanged at the same place the same time as Horsey. (p543-47).

They all were subject to other orders listed below:

Washington City May 1, 1865. to Commanding district of Indiana, Indianapolis:

You will have the prisoners Bowles, Milligan and Horsey at once placed in irons. You will increase the guard over them and take every precautions necessary to prevent escape or rescue.(p523)

(May 16, 1865) Washington to Major General Hovey, Indianapolis: I have commuted the sentence of death of Horsey to imprisonment at hard labor for life. You will suspend the execution of Milligan and Bowles until (June 2). A Johnson President . With this came the rescheduling of Bowles and Milligan to (Friday June 2) hanging. (p587)

Cipher and Strictly Confidential (May 30), 9:30 p.m. Washington City to Indianapolis:
The President orders that the sentence of death heretofore passed against Horsey, Bowles, and Milligan be commuted to imprisonment of each at hard labor in the penitentiary during his life. Columbus, O is designated as the place of imprisonment. Transfer them under guard to those facilities. P583)

(May 31), Indianapolis 12 noon to E. M. Stanton Secretary of War. I have just received your telegram commuting the sentences of Bowles, Milligan and Horsey. The order shall be strictly obeyed, Alvin Hovey, Major General.

(June 3, 1865) Indianapolis, Ind to Assistant Adjutant General: I have the honor to report that in obedience to special orders from district headquarters I proceeded with a guard of 32 men in charge of prisoners Bowles, Milligan and Horsey to Columbus, Ohio on Friday June 2 at 6 a.m. John Gardner. Acknowledgment of receipts of the prisoners was also noted by the Warden of Ohio prison. (p638-39)

Through various legal maneuvers the three were released from the Ohio prison. on (April 10, 1866).

A civil court determined that the men should not have been tried by a military court.

Followers of Milligan contended in later years that he had done nothing wrong and his release freed him of any blame.

Dodd escaped to Canada. Some suspected that he was freed because he knew too much. There was little if any attempt to send out messages to watch out for him.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSIONS

Most of the historians have spent their time on the subject of secret societies during the Civil war arguing why their actions were minor.

I do believe that there was a co-ordinate activity by the American Knights or the Sons of Liberty, especially after mid 1863, to destroy the will of the northern population. .

Some historians built their case against the secret societies only being a factor in the mind and actions of Gov Oliver Morton and his spy network. The Democrat party members were active in most of the secret societies; this is played down by those historians who belittle the secret orders' part in the war.

These secret societies received public backing by appealing to those who were against the blacks being free, those opposed to the draft and those who favored the South.

All of these reasons contributed to making it possible for a secret order to have some power. With the above in mind I have outlined why the secret societies did have an effect on the war, especially in making the war last longer.

WHAT PROOF IS THERE OF these secret societies being active. The most damaging evidence is from testimony of those who were a part of the secret groups:

Those testifying either were or had been members of the American Knights. Most of these also revealed that there was a military side of the Order. Also there were plans to free southern prisoners from northern prisoner of war camps.

Below is the interview with these members who did talk. they did so with the threat that they would be murdered for betraying societies' secrets.

MARY ANN PITMAN (activities during 1864)She had acted as a courier for the Confederates prior to her capture. **Mary Ann testified that she knew of a secret organization.**

She also said that she had resigned the Order when they passed an order which she considered as utterly atrocious and barbarous.

Mary Ann also contended that President Davis of the confederates was a member of an Order.

She also stated that she understood that a speech by Vallandigham in Chicago was to trigger an uprising in (Aug 1864).

CHARLES A HUNT He was high up in the Order of American Knights in Missouri.

He was interviewed twice, the first time he denied ever knowing about a secret Order then on the second interview confessed he knew of the organization.

He said that he had visited Vallandigham in Windsor, Canada. He declined to answer who he took with him to Canada. He admitted that he held the position of Grand Commander but that he had resigned on May 14 or 16.

CHARLES DUNN He was involved with the secret Orders. He denied that he was now a member of the society. He said he had held a position in the Missouri organization.

He did identify the organization, the Order of American Knights; he also admitted that some were armed.

OTHER TESTIMONY

Joseph BINGHAM testified that he had joined the American Knights;, he also testified **that Dodd had elaborated plans to free those being held in Northern prisoner of war camp and also kidnaping Gov. Morton, That Dodd had planned for an insurrection to take place in Indiana.**

HEFFREN Horace turned state evidence against his fellow conspirators and told of the plans to free prisoners and arm them.

One of the most damaging parts of his testimony was about money. Heffren related that he was told that half a million dollars was available for Indiana, Kentucky and Illinois and other states to procure arms. His story jibed with a Canadian report where the confederate congress had appropriated $1,000,000 dollars for access in the northern states.

When the Confederate agent in Canada turned over the funds available to his successor there was only about $20,000 left.

INFORMANTS

Some historians contend that Morton had more spies in the American Knights and knew at all times what the secret orders' plans were .

That he used the two organizations (OAK or OSL) to further his political ambitions.

Some of these informants were very active in the OAK.

One of the most successful was **Edward HOFFMAN** who worked his way into the various organizations and traveled Missouri, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois and Ohio. He named the place where the Copperheads were meeting, also learned of many of the secrets of the Order. He also discovered that money had been sent from Canada to assist the secret Orders. He was successful in getting some of the names of those who belonged in the Orders.

TAYLOR Robert most of his activities were in Missouri .

FORRESTER James, He uncovered shipment of arms of war and men to the rebel army

STINSON William, he was assigned the duty of getting the signs and the purpose of the Corps DeBelgique.

STATE LEGISLATURE

Did the 1863 Indiana General Assembly contribute to the Southern cause?

If you used southern newspapers as a guide the answer would be it strengthened the resolve in 1863-64 for the Rebels not to end the war.

Various efforts by the Democrat controlled Indiana General Assembly were made to cripple the war effort. The first was to introduce resolutions asking that conventions be called and an armistice be in effect during talks on restoration of the Union.

The resolutions did not take into account that the Rebels had made the first act of war.

When they failed in this plan, those opposed to the war directed their efforts to strip Governors' power over the military.

They proceeded to introduce legislation that would have placed the state militia under a board. This board would have named its own general and would have had the power to disband any unit. This brought about the Republicans in the House leaving the chambers so that a quorum was not present.

Historians have taken the Republicans to task and stated that this would not have happened; even if it did the Governor could have vetoed the bill or then they could have walked.

However a veto can be overridden by one vote of half of the legislature not by a 2/3 majority. (A quorum required to conduct business in either branch of the legislature.)

CIVIL DISTURBANCES

Two decisions by the Lincoln Administration helped civil protests in the Middle West: The Draft in 1862 and the Emancipation Proclamation.

Those opposed to the War and favoring the South found gold when they brought up either one of the two. The State resolutions probably portrayed the feeling of some of those back home.

There could be a strong argument that these disturbances were spontaneous and not organized by any secret Order (Knights of the Golden Circle or Sons of Liberty)

. It is true that Gov Morton used this opposition to get some political gain in the 1864 election. However the demonstrations were too many and too well organized to just have been a spur of the moment reaction.

Those persons who registered men for the draft were murdered, draft records destroyed; in addition, demonstrations were held on the president's proclamation freeing the slaves.

Indiana was not a state that favored blacks. In the 1852 drafting of the constitution a separate amendment was added where it was illegal to bring any blacks into Indiana. This proposal passed with a huge majority in favor of the amendment. This also provided for re-settling the few blacks in Indiana,, to areas outside of the state. At that time fewer than 300 free negroes were in the state.

Demonstrations started in (Oct 1862) in Blackford county and extended to (October 1863). More demonstrations were held in (June 1863) than any other month. The odd part of this was that when the Secret Society got into full swing in (1864) the demonstrations slowed down considerably.

Various reports during the (1863-65) period were that the Secret societies were encouraging desertion and providing means of aiding those who deserted or ran from the draft.

However many of the reports of the high number of persons deserting from the army are not verified by official records. From the time the war broke out to (Dec 1865) 8,927 men were listed as deserting from the states force;. 4,987 were arrested during the same period of time. There were 156,348 men enrolled for military service (including those who joined), So desertions were a little more than 3% of the enrollment of the males in the state of Indiana..

RECAP

The Knights of the Golden Circle, and Sons of Liberty referred to as Secret Societies and Orders did contribute to the Rebel Cause.

Southern Newspapers reported on the various acts in the north that favored the Rebels.

Money was expended by the south to try to sway the public toward their cause.

The Democrat party was used by some of the protesters as a vehicle to further the discord in the state of Indiana. No one can determine just how long the War would have lasted if these groups had not been operating in the north.

Some of their activities did draw soldiers away from the battle areas. Morgans Raid, the fires set in New York, etc. all contributed to requiring the retention of troops in the north that could have been used in the battle area.

Testimony from those who were former members of the Order and informants back up the fact that the organizations were very active.

The arrest of the leaders resulted in their plans not being implemented. Never-the-less they did plan to overthrow the government of the United States.

Thus they were a serious threat to this nation and it should be treated that way by the historians.

CREDITS

Credit must be given to the following for service they provided for this book .

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Historical Societies, Elkhart, Kosciusko, Indiana State.

Publications: Indiana History Magazine, Northern Indianian , Plymouth Times.

Records: Of the Union and Confederate Armies, Terrells Indiana in the war of Rebellion.

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